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THE

WORKS

OF

JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D: D.S.P.D.

WITH

NOTES HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

BY

J. HAWKESWORTH, L.L.D.

AND OTHERS.

In EIGHTEEN VOLUMES.

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THE

THE

EXAMINER.*

N° 13. Thurſday, November 2. 1710.

——Longa eſt injuria, longæ
Ambages; ſed ſumma ſequar faſtigia rerum.

IT is a practice I have generally followed, to converſe in equal freedom with the deſerving men of both parties; and it was never without ſome contempt, that I have obſerved perſons wholly out of employment affect to do otherwiſe.

* In Auguſt 1710, a weekly paper, called, *The* EXAMINER, began to be publiſhed. It was eſteemed to be the work of ſeveral eminent hands; among which were reckoned Lord Bolingbroke, Dr Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, Mr Prior, and ſome others. However it came about, the general opinion is, that theſe perſons proceeded no further than to the firſt twelve papers; after which it ſeems to be agreed, that the undertaking was carried on by Dr Swift, who began with N° 13. and ended at N° 50. For although the paper continued many months after to be publiſhed, under the title of, *The* EXAMINER; yet, by the inequality of the performance, it was manifeſt to all judicious perſons, that Dr Swift had not the leaſt ſhare in them. *Dublin edition.*

As N° 13 was the firſt of theſe papers written by Dr Swift, N° 44. was the laſt. Six more have been printed in the Iriſh edition; which is a proof, among many others, that he was not the editor. In a letter of his to Stella, dated June 7. 1711, the day on which the Exami-

otherwiſe. I doubted, whether any man could owe ſo much to the ſide he was of, although he were retained by it; but without ſome great point of intereſt, either in poſſeſſion or proſpect, I thought

ner, N° 44. was publiſhed, there is the following paragraph. "As for the EXAMINER, I have heard a whiſper, that after that of this day, which tells what this parliament has done, you will hardly find them ſo good: I propheſy they will be traſh for the future; and methinks in this day's *Examiner*, the author talks doubtfully, as if he would write no more; ſo that if they go on, they may probably be by ſome other hand: which, in my opinion, is a thouſand pities; but who can help it? Obſerve whether the change be diſcovered in Dublin; only for your own curioſity, that is all." In a ſubſequent letter, dated Auguſt 24. he ſays, "The *Examiner* has been down this month, and was very ſilly the five or ſix laſt papers." *Hawkeſ.*

The EXAMINER was a weekly paper in defence of the *Tory* miniſtry. This paper, as it was carried on by ſome very eminent hands, having obtained a vogue, Swift took up the character of the *Examiner*, and commenced a regular ſeries of politics with N° 13. November 2. 1710; and having completed the main deſign which firſt engaged him in the undertaking, with N° 44. June 7. 1711, and taken his leave of the town, as appears from the two laſt paragraphs of that number, he dropt the character of the *Examiner*, and never more wrote another paper —— There was a paper indeed ſtill ſupported under the title of the *Examiner*; but it ſunk immediately into rudeneſs and ill manners: and, what is ſtill more, I can take upon me to aſſert from undeniable authority, even from the authority of Dr Swift himſelf, that in fact the ſcurrility in thoſe papers was encouraged by the miniſtry. In ſhort, the ſubſequent *Examiners* were written by ſome under-ſpurleathers in the

thought it was the mark of a low and narrow ſpirit.

It is hard, that for ſome weeks paſt I have been forced in my own defence to follow a proceeding that I have ſo much condemned in others. But ſeveral of my acquaintance among the declining party are grown ſo inſufferably peeviſh and ſplenetic, profeſs ſuch violent apprehenſions for the public, and repreſent the ſtate of things in ſuch formidable ideas, that I find myſelf diſpoſed to ſhare in their afflictions; although I know them to be groundleſs and imaginary, or, which is worſe, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an endleſs, but a diſobliging taſk. Some of them, I am convinced, would be leſs melancholy if there were more occaſion. I ſhall therefore, inſtead of hearkening to farther complaints, employ ſome part of this paper for the future in letting ſuch men ſee, that their natural or acquired fears are ill-grounded, and their artificial ones as ill-intended; that all our preſent inconveniencies are the conſequence of the very counſels they ſo much admire, which would ſtill have increaſed if thoſe had continued; and that neither our conſtitution in church or ſtate could probably have been long preſerved, without ſuch methods as have been already taken.

the city, and were deſigned merely as proper returns to thoſe Grubſtreet invectives which were thrown out againſt the adminiſtration by the authors of the *Medley*, the *Engliſhman*, and ſome other abuſive detracting papers of the like ſtamp. *Swift.*

The late revolutions at court have given room to ſome ſpecious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men, juſt as they had taken them up on the credit of others, who have worſe deſigns. They wonder the Queen would chuſe to change her miniſtry at this juncture, and thereby give uneaſineſs to a general, who hath been ſo long ſucceſsful abroad, and might think himſelf injured if the entire miniſtry were not of his own nomination; that there were few complaints of any conſequence againſt the late men in power, and none at all in parliament, which, on the contrary, paſſed votes in favour of the chief miniſter; that if her Majeſty had a mind to introduce the other party, it would have been more ſeaſonable after a peace, which now we have made deſperate by diſpiriting the French, who rejoice at theſe changes, and by the fall of our credit, which unqualifies us for carrying on the war; that the parliament, ſo untimely diſſolved, had been diligent in their ſupplies, and dutiful in their behaviour; that one conſequence of theſe changes appears already in the fall of the ſtocks; that we may ſoon expect more and worſe; and laſtly, that all this naturally tends to break the ſettlement of the crown, and call over the Pretender.

Theſe, and the like notions, are plentifully ſcattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party, to render the Queen and her adminiſtration odious, and to inflame the nation. And theſe are what, upon occaſion, I ſhall endeavour to overthrow,

throw, by diſcovering the falſehood and abſurdity of them.

It is a great unhappineſs when, in a government conſtituted like ours, it ſhould be ſo brought about, that the continuance of a war muſt be for the intereſt of vaſt numbers, (civil as well as military), who otherwiſe would have been as unknown as their original. I think our preſent condition of affairs is admirably deſcribed by two verſes in Lucan:

Hinc uſura vorax, avidumque in tempore foenus,
Hinc concuſſa fides, et multis utile bellum.

Which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus tranſlated:

" Hence are derived thoſe exorbitant intereſts " and annuities; hence thoſe large diſcounts for " advance and prompt payment; hence public " credit is ſhaken; and hence great numbers " find their profit in prolonging the war."

It is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourſelves, there ſhould ſo many be found to cloſe in with thoſe counſels, who have been ever averſe from all overtures towards a peace: But yet there is no great myſtery in the matter. Let any man obſerve the equipages in the town, he ſhall find the greater number of thoſe, who make a figure, to be a ſpecies of men quite different from any that were ever known before the revolution; conſiſting either of generals and colonels, or of thoſe whoſe whole fortunes lie in funds and ſtocks; ſo that *power*,

which, according to the old maxim, was uſed to follow *land*, is now gone over to *money*; and the country-gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whoſe eſtate a ſcrivener receives half the rents for intereſt, and hath a mortgage on the whole; and is therefore always ready to feed his vices and extravagancies, while there is any thing left. So that if the war continue ſome years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army and to the public funds.

It may perhaps be worth inquiring, from what beginnings, and by what ſteps, we have been brought into this deſperate condition: And in ſearch of this we muſt run up as high as the Revolution.

Moſt of the nobility and gentry, who invited over the Prince of Orange, or attended him in his expedition, were true lovers of their country, and its conſtitution, in church and ſtate; and were brought to yield to thoſe breaches in the ſucceſſion of the crown, out of a regard to the neceſſity of the kingdom and the ſafety of the people, which did, and could only, make them lawful; but without intention of drawing ſuch a practice into precedent, or making it a ſtanding meaſure by which to proceed in all times to come; and therefore we find their counſels ever tended to keep things, as much as poſſible, in the old courſe. But ſoon after, a ſet of men, who had nothing to loſe, and had neither borne the burthen or heat of the day, found means to whiſper

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in the King's ear, that the principles of loyalty in the church of England were wholly inconſiſtent with the *Revolution*. Hence began the early practice of careſſing the diſſenters, reviling the univerſities, as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of *divine right*, *paſſive obedience*, *and non-reſiſtance*. At the ſame time, in order to faſten wealthy people to the new government, they propoſed thoſe pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vaſt *premiums*, and at exorbitant intereſt: A practice as old as Eumenes, one of Alexander's captains, who, ſetting up for himſelf after the death of his maſter, perſuaded his principal officers to lend him great ſums; after which they were forced to follow him for their own ſecurity.

This introduced a number of new dextrous men into buſineſs and credit. It was argued, that the war could not laſt above two or three campaigns; and that it was eaſier for the ſubjects to raiſe a fund for paying intereſt, than to tax them annually to the full expence of the war. Several perſons, who had ſmall or incumbered eſtates, ſold them, and turned their money into thoſe funds, to great advantage: Merchants, as well as other monied men, finding trade was dangerous, purſued the ſame method. But the war continuing, and growing more expenſive, taxes were increaſed, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monſtrous height we now behold them; and that, which was at firſt a corruption, is at laſt grown neceſſary, and what every good

ſubject

ſubject will now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wiſh it might ſoon have an end; becauſe it is with a kingdom as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of the nation, that uſed to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the riſe and fall of ſtocks: and although the foundation of credit be ſtill the ſame, and upon a bottom that can never be ſhaken, and although all intereſt be duly paid by the public; yet, through the contrivance and cunning of *ſtock-jobbers*, there hath been brought in ſuch a complication of knavery and cozenage, ſuch a myſtery of iniquity, and ſ ch an unintelligible jargon of terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed by perſons ſkilled in theſe calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of intereſt and annuities were added to the yearly taxes, and the four-ſhilling aid ſtrictly exacted in all counties of the kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, ſupply the occaſions of the war; at leaſt ſuch a part as, in the opinion of very able perſons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a queſtion, whether any wiſe prince or ſtate, in the continuance of a war, which was not purely defenſive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propoſe that his expence ſhould perpetually exceed what he was able to impoſe annually upon his ſubjects? Neither, if the war laſt many years longer, do I ſee how the next generation will be able to be-

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gin another; which, in the courſe of human affairs, and according to the various intereſts and ambition of princes, may be as neceſſary for them, as it hath been for us. And if our fathers had left us as deeply involved as we are likely to leave our children, I appeal to any man, what ſort of figure we ſhould have been able to make theſe twenty years paſt. Beſides, neither our enemies nor allies are upon the ſame footing with us in this particular. France and Holland, our neareſt neighbours, and the fartheſt engaged, will much ſooner recover themſelves after a war: The firſt, by the abſolute power of the prince, who, being maſter of the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts; and ſo will the other, by their prudent adminiſtration, the greatneſs of their trade, their wonderful parſimony, the willingneſs of their people to undergo all kinds of taxes, and their juſtice in applying as well as collecting them. But above all, we are to conſider, that France and Holland fight on the continent, either upon or near their own territories, and the greateſt part of the money circulates among themſelves; whereas ours croſſes the ſea, either to Flanders, Spain, or Portugal; and every penny of it, whether in ſpecie or returns, is ſo much loſt to the nation for ever.

Upon theſe conſiderations alone, it was the moſt prudent courſe imaginable in the Queen, to lay hold of the diſpoſition of the people for changing the parliament and miniſtry at this juncture,

juncture, and extricating herſelf as ſoon as poſſible out of the pupillage of thoſe, who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the leaſt reaſon to doubt, but the enſuing parliament will aſſiſt her MAJESTY with the utmoſt vigour, until her enemies again be brought to ſue for peace, and *again* offer ſuch terms as will make it both honourable and laſting; only with this difference, that the miniſtry perhaps will not *again* refuſe them.

Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara Juventus.

N° 14. Thurſday, November 9. 1710.

E quibus hi vacuas implent ſermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt alio: menſuraque ficti
Creſcit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor.
Illic credulitas, illic temerarius error,
Vanaque lætitia eſt, conſternatique timores,
Seditioque recens, dubioque autore ſuſurri.

I AM prevailed on, through the importunity of friends, to interrupt the ſcheme I had begun in my laſt paper, by an eſſay upon the art of *political lying*. We are told *the devil is the father of lies*, and *was a liar from the beginning*: So that, beyond contradiction, the invention is old; and, which is more, his firſt eſſay of it was purely *political*, employed in undermining the authority of his prince, and ſeducing the third part of the ſubjects from their obedience; for which he was driven down from heaven, where, as Milton expreſſeth it, he had been VICEROY of a great *weſtern*

weſtern province; and forced to exerciſe his talent in inferior regions, among *other fallen ſpirits*, or *poor deluded men*, whom he ſtill daily tempts to *his own ſin*, and will ever do ſo, till he be *chained in the bottomleſs pit.*

But although the devil be the father of *lies*, he ſeems, like other great inventors, to have loſt much of his reputation by the continual improvements that have been made upon him.

Who firſt reduced *lying* into an art, and adapted it to *politics*, is not ſo clear from hiſtory; although I have made ſome diligent inquiries. I ſhall therefore conſider it only according to the modern ſyſtem, as it hath been cultivated theſe twenty years paſt in the ſouthern part of our own iſland.

The poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrown by the gods, the *earth* in revenge produced her laſt offspring, which was *Fame.* And the fable is thus interpreted: That when tumults and ſeditions are quieted, rumours and falſe reports are plentifully ſpread through a nation. So that by this account *lying* is the laſt relief of a *routed*, *earth-born*, *rebellious party*, in a ſtate. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the gaining of power and preſerving it, as well as revenging themſelves after they have loſt it; as the ſame inſtruments are made uſe of by animals to feed themſelves when they are hungry, and to bite thoſe that tread upon them.

But the ſame genealogy cannot always be admitted

mitted for *political lying;* I ſhall therefore deſire to refine upon it, by adding ſome circumſtances of its birth and parents. A *political lie* is ſometimes born out of a diſcarded ſtateſman's head, and thence delivered to be nurſed and dandled by the *rabble.* Sometimes it is produced a monſter, and *licked* into ſhape: at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is ſpoiled in the *licking.* It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it, and often it ſees the light in its full growth; but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth; and ſometimes the ſpawn of a *ſtock-jobber. Here* it ſcreams aloud at the opening of the womb; and *there* it is delivered with a *whiſper.* I know a *lie,* that now diſturbs half the kingdom with its noiſe, which, although too proud and great at preſent to own its parents, I can remember its *whiſper-hood.* To conclude the nativity of this monſter; when it comes into the world without a *ſting,* it is ſtill-born; and whenever it loſes its *ſting,* it dies.

No wonder if an infant ſo miraculous in its birth ſhould be deſtined for great adventures; and accordingly we ſee it hath been the *guardian ſpirit* of a *prevailing party* for almoſt twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and ſometimes with the loſs of a battle. It gives and reſumes employments; can ſink a mountain to a a mole-hill, and raiſe a mole-hill to a mountain; hath preſided for many years at committees of elections; can waſh a *black-a-moor* white; make

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a ſaint of an atheiſt, and a patriot of a profligate; can furniſh *foreign miniſters* with intelligence; and raiſe or let fall the credit of the nation. This goddeſs flies with a huge *looking-glaſs* in her hands to dazzle the croud; and make them ſee, according as ſhe turns it, their ruin in their intereſt, and their intereſt in their ruin. In this glaſs you will behold your beſt friends clad in coats powdered with *fleurs de lis* and *triple crowns*, their girdles hung round with *chains*, and *beads*, and *wooden ſhoes*; and your worſt enemies adorned with the enſigns of *liberty*, *property*, *indulgence*, *moderation*, and a *cornucopia* in their hands. Her large wings, like thoſe of a flying fiſh, are of no uſe but while they are moiſt; ſhe therefore dips them in *mud*, and ſoaring aloft, ſcatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great ſwiftneſs; but at every turn is forced to ſtoop in *dirty ways* for new ſupplies.

I have been ſometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the *ſecond ſight* for ſeeing *lies*, as they have in Scotland for ſeeing ſpirits, how admirably he might entertain himſelf in this town by obſerving the different ſhapes, ſizes, and colours of thoſe ſwarms of *lies*, which buzz about the heads of *ſome people*, like flies about a horſe's ears in ſummer; or thoſe legions hovering every afternoon in Exchange-Alley, enough to darken the air; or over a club of diſcontented grandees, and thence ſent down in cargoes to be ſcattered at elections.

There is one eſſential point wherein a *political liar*

differs from others of the faculty; that he ought to have but a ſhort memory, which is neceſſary according to the various occaſions he meets with every hour of differing from himſelf, and ſwearing to both ſides of a contradiction, as he finds the perſons diſpoſed with whom he hath to deal. In deſcribing the virtues and vices of mankind, it is convenient, upon every article, to have ſome eminent perſon in our eye, from whom we copy our deſcription. I have ſtrictly obſerved this rule; and my imagination this minute repreſents before me a certain *great man* *, famous for this talent, to the conſtant practice of which he owes his twenty years reputation of the moſt ſkilful head in England for the management of nice affairs. The ſuperiority of his genius conſiſts in nothing elſe, but an inexhauſtible fund of *political lies*, which he plentifully diſtributes every minute he ſpeaks, and by an unparalleled generoſity forgets, and conſequently contradicts, the next half hour. He never yet conſidered, whether any propoſition were true or falſe, but whether it were convenient for the preſent minute or company to affirm or deny it; ſo that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he ſays, as we do dreams, by the contrary, you are ſtill to ſeek, and will find yourſelf equally deceived whether you believe or no: The only remedy is to ſuppoſe, that you have heard ſome inarticulate ſounds, without any meaning at all; and beſides, that will take off the horror you might

* The late Earl of Wharton.

might be apt to conceive at the oaths wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every *propoſition*; although at the ſame time, I think, he cannot with any juſtice be taxed with perjury, when he invokes God and Chriſt; becauſe he hath often fairly given public notice to the world, that he believes in neither.

Some people may think, that ſuch an accompliſhment as this can be of no great uſe to the owner, or his party, after it hath been often practiſed and is become notorious; but they are widely miſtaken. Few *lies* carry the inventor's mark; and the moſt proſtitute enemy to truth may ſpread a thouſand, without being known for the author: Beſides, as the vileſt writer hath his readers, ſo the greateſt *liar* hath his believers; and it often happens, that if a *lie* be believed only for an hour, it hath done its work, and there is no farther occaſion for it. *Falſehood flies*, and *truth* comes *limping* after it; ſo that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late; the jeſt is over, and the tale has had its effect: Like a man, who has thought of a good repartee, when the diſcourſe is changed, or the company parted; or like a phyſician, who hath found out an infallible medicine, after the patient is dead.

Conſidering that natural diſpoſition in many men to *lie*, and in multitudes to *believe*, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim ſo frequent in every body's mouth, That *truth will at laſt prevail*. Here hath this iſland of ours, for the greateſt part of twenty years, lain under the

influence of ſuch counſels and perſons, whoſe principle and intereſt it was to corrupt our manners, blind our underſtanding, drain our wealth, and in time deſtroy our conſtitution both in church and ſtate; and we at laſt were brought to the very brink of ruin; yet, by the means of perpetual repreſentations, have never been able to diſtinguiſh between our enemies and friends. We have ſeen a great part of the nation's money got into the hands of thoſe, who, by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our liveries; while others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able to give reputation and ſucceſs to the Revolution, were not only laid aſide as dangerous and uſeleſs, but loaden with the ſcandal of Jacobites, men of *arbitrary principles*, and *penſioners* to France; while truth, who is ſaid to *lie in a well*, ſeemed now to be buried there under a heap of ſtones. But I remember, it was an uſual complaint among the *Whigs*, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their intereſts, which ſome of the wiſeſt looked on as an ill omen; and we ſaw it was with the utmoſt difficulty that they could preſerve a majority, while the court and miniſtry were on their ſide, till they had learned thoſe admirable expedients for deciding elections, and influencing diſtant boroughs by *powerful motives* from the city. But all this was mere force and conſtraint, however upheld by moſt dextrous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their *properties*, their *religion*,

gion, and the *monarchy* itſelf, in danger; then he ſaw them greedily laying hold on the firſt occaſion to interpoſe. But of this mighty change in the diſpoſitions of the people I ſhall diſcourſe more at large in ſome following paper; wherein I ſhall endeavour to undeceive or diſcover thoſe deluded or deluding perſons, who hope to pretend it is only a ſhort madneſs in the vulgar, from which they may ſoon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its cauſes, its ſymptoms, and its conſequences; and prove a great example to illuſtrate the maxim I lately mentioned, That *truth* (however, ſometimes late) *will at laſt prevail.*

N° 15. Thurſday, November 16. 1710.

——medioque ut limite curras,
Icare, ait, moneo: ne ſi demiſſior ibis,
Unda gravet pennas; ſi celſior, ignis adurat.

IT muſt be avowed, that for ſome years paſt, there have been few things more wanted in England than ſuch a paper, as this ought to be; and ſuch as I will endeavour to make it, as long as it ſhall be found of any uſe, without entering into the violences of either party. Conſidering the many grievous miſrepreſentations of perſons and things, it is highly requiſite, at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom ſhould, if poſſible, be ſet right in their opinions by ſome impartial hand, which hath never been yet attempted; thoſe who have hitherto undertaken it,

being, upon every account, the leaſt qualified of all human kind for ſuch a work.

We live here under a limited monarchy, and under the doctrine and diſcipline of an excellent church. We are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty zeal for our religion and government, only they diſagree about the means. The evils we muſt fence againſt, are on one ſide fanaticiſm and infidelity in religion, and anarchy, under the name of commonwealth, in government; on the other ſide, popery, ſlavery, and the Pretender from France. Now, to inform and direct us in our ſentiments upon theſe weighty points, here are on one ſide two ſtupid illiterate ſcribblers, both of them *fanatics* by profeſſion, I mean the *Review* and *Obſervator*; on the other ſide, we have an open *Nonjuror* *, whoſe character and perſon, as well as learning and good ſenſe, diſcovered upon other ſubjects, do indeed deſerve reſpect and eſteem; but his *Rehearſal*, and the reſt of his political papers, are yet more pernicious than thoſe of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to *talk* or *think*, until they have read their *leſſon* in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it, that their duty ſhould be conveyed to them through ſuch *vehicles* as thoſe? For, let ſome gentlemen think what they pleaſe, I cannot but ſuſpect, that the two worthies I firſt mentioned have, in a degree, done miſchief among us; the mock authoritative manner

* The Rev. Charles Leſlie.

ner of the one, and the inſipid mirth of the other, however inſupportable to reaſonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the loweſt part of mankind. Neither was the author of the *Rehearſal*, while he continued that paper, leſs infectious to many perſons of better figure, who perhaps were as well qualified, and much leſs prejudiced, to judge for themſelves.

It was this reaſon that moved me to take the matter out of thoſe *rough*, as well as thoſe *dirty* hands; to let the remote and uninſtructed part of the nation ſee, that they have been miſled on both ſides by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide diſtance on each ſide from the truth; while the right path is ſo broad and plain, as to be eaſily kept, if they were once put into it.

Further, I had lately entered on a reſolution to take very little notice of other papers, unleſs it were ſuch, where the malice and falſehood had ſo great a mixture of wit and ſpirit, as would make them dangerous; which, in the preſent circle of ſcribblers, from twelve-pence to a halfpenny, I could eaſily foreſee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to diſpenſe with my reſolution, although it be only to tell my reader what meaſures I am like to take on ſuch occaſions for the future. I was told that the paper, called, *The Obſervator*, was twice filled laſt week with remarks upon a late *Examiner*. Theſe I read with the firſt opportunity, and, to ſpeak in the news-writers phraſe, they give me *occaſions for many ſpeculations*. I obſerved with

ſingular

ſingular pleaſure the nature of thoſe *things*, which the owners of them uſually call *Anſwers*, and with what dexterity this matchleſs author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To tranſcribe here and there three or four detached lines of leaſt weight in a diſcourſe, and by a fooliſh comment miſtake every ſyllable of the meaning, is what I have known many of a ſuperior claſs to this formidable adverſary, intitle, *An Anſwer*. This is what he hath exactly done in about thrice as many words as my whole diſcourſe; which is ſo mighty an advantage over me, that I ſhall by no means engage in ſo unequal a combat; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely diſmiſs him for the future; heartily wiſhing he had a match exactly of his own ſize to meddle with, who ſhould only have the odds of truth and honeſty, which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to ſilence him for ever. Upon this occaſion I cannot forbear a ſhort ſtory of a *fanatic farmer*, who lived in my neighbourhood, and was ſo great a diſputant in religion, that the ſervants in all the families thereabouts reported, how he had confuted the Biſhop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible; and I borrowed a comment for him, which he ſtudied ſo cloſe, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the *farmer*. They diſputed at ſeveral houſes, with a ring of ſervants and other people always about them; where Ned explained his texts ſo full and clear to the capacity of his audience,

and

and ſhewed the inſignificancy of his adverſary's cant to the meaneſt underſtanding, that he got the whole country of his ſide; and the farmer was cured of his itch of diſputation for ever after.

The worſt of it is, that this ſort of outrageous party-writers I have ſpoke of above, are like a couple of make-bates, who inflame ſmall quarrels by a thouſand ſtories, and by keeping friends at a diſtance, hinder them from coming to a good underſtanding; as they certainly would, if they were ſuffered to meet and debate between themſelves: For, let any one examine a reaſonable, honeſt man, of either ſide, upon thoſe opinions in religion and government, which both parties daily buffet each other about; he ſhall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would be glad to aſk a queſtion about *two great men* of the late miniſtry, how they came to be *Whigs?* and by what figure of ſpeech half-a-dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called *Tories?* I doubt whoever would ſuit the definition to the perſons, muſt make it directly contrary to what we underſtood it at the time of the Revolution.

In order to remove theſe miſapprehenſions among us, I believe it will be neceſſary, upon occaſion, to detect the malice and falſehood of ſome popular maxims, which thoſe idiots ſcatter from the preſs twice a-week, and draw a hundred abſurd conſequences from them.

For example; I have heard it often objected

as

as a great piece of inſolence in the clergy and others to ſay or hint, that the *church was in danger*, when it was voted otherwiſe in parliament ſome years ago, and the Queen herſelf, in her laſt ſpeech, did openly condemn all ſuch inſinuations. Notwithſtanding which, I did then, and do ſtill, believe the church hath, ſince that vote, been in very imminent danger; and I think I might then have ſaid ſo without the leaſt offence to her Majeſty, or either of the two Houſes. The Queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from *her adminiſtration;* and whoever ſays or thinks that, deſerves, in my opinion, to be hanged for a traitor; but that the church and ſtate may be both in danger under the beſt princes that ever reigned, and without the leaſt guilt of theirs, is ſuch a truth, as a man muſt be a great ſtranger to hiſtory and common ſenſe to doubt. The wiſeſt prince on earth may be forced by the neceſſity of his affairs, and the preſent power of an unruly faction, or deceived by the craft of ill-deſigning men. One or two miniſters, moſt in his confidence, may *at firſt* have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their paſſion or intereſts from *one ſet of men* than another, until they are two far involved for a retreat; and ſo be forced to take *ſeven ſpirits more wicked than themſelves*. This is a very poſſible caſe: And will not *the laſt ſtate of ſuch men be worſe than the firſt?* That is to ſay,

Will

Will not the public, which was ſafe at firſt, grow in danger by ſuch proceedings as theſe? And ſhall a faithful ſubject, who foreſees and trembles at the conſequences, be called *diſaffected*, becauſe he delivers his opinion, although the prince declares, as he juſtly may, that the danger is not owing to his adminiſtration? Or ſhall the prince himſelf be blamed, when, in ſuch a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands, *with the univerſal applauſe of his people?* As to the vote againſt thoſe who ſhould affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewiſe referred to danger from, or under, the Queen's adminiſtration, (for I neither have it by me, nor can ſuddenly have recourſe to it;) but if it were otherwiſe, I know not how it can refer to any dangers, but what were paſt, or at that time preſent; or how it could affect the future, unleſs the ſenators were all *inſpired*, or at leaſt that majority which voted it: Neither do I ſee it is any crime, farther than ill manners, to differ in opinion from a majority of either or both Houſes; and that ill manners, I muſt confeſs, I have been often guilty of for ſome years paſt, although I hope I never ſhall again.

Another topic of great uſe to theſe weekly inflamers is the young Pretender in France, to whom their whole party is in a high meaſure indebted for all their greatneſs; and whenever it lies in their power, they may perhaps return their acknowledgments, as, out of their zeal for frequent *revolutions*, they were ready to do to his

his ſuppoſed father; which is a piece of *ſecret hiſtory* that I hope will one day ſee the light; and I am ſure it ſhall, if ever I am maſter of it, without regarding *whoſe ears may tingle*. But at preſent the word *pretender* is a term of art in *their* profeſſion. A ſecretary of ſtate cannot *deſire leave to reſign*, but the Pretender is at bottom; the Queen cannot diſſolve a parliament, but it is a plot to dethrone herſelf and bring in the Pretender; half a ſcore ſtock-jobbers are playing the knave in Exchange-Alley, and there goes the Pretender with a *ſponge*. One would be apt to think, they bawl out the Pretender ſo often to take off the terror, or tell ſo many lies about him to ſlacken our caution, that when he is really coming, *by their connivance*, we may not believe them as the boy ſerved the ſhepherds about the *coming of the wolf*: or perhaps they ſcare us with the Pretender, becauſe they think we may be like ſome diſeaſes, that *come with a fright*. Do they not believe, that the Queen's preſent miniſtry love her Majeſty, at leaſt as well as *ſome others* loved the *church?* And why is it not as great a mark of *diſaffection* now, to ſay the *Queen* is *in danger*, as it was ſome months ago to affirm the ſame of the *church?* Suppoſe it be a falſe opinion, that the Queen's right is *hereditary* and *indefeaſible;* yet how is it poſſible, that thoſe who hold and believe ſuch a doctrine, can be in the Pretender's intereſt? His title is weakened by every argument that ſtrengthens her's: It is as plain as the words of an act of parliament can make

make it, that her preſent Majeſty is heir to the ſurvivor of the late King and Queen her ſiſter: Is not that an *hereditary right?* What need we explain it any further? I have known an *article of faith* expounded in much looſer and more general terms, and that by an author whoſe opinions are very much followed by a certain party *. Suppoſe we go further, and examine the word *indefeaſible*, with which ſome writers of late have made themſelves ſo merry: I confeſs, it is hard to conceive how any law, which the ſupreme power makes, may not by the ſame power be repealed; ſo that I ſhall not determine, whether the Queen's right be *indefeaſible*, or no. But this I will maintain, that whoever affirms it ſo, is not guilty of a crime; for in that ſettlement of the crown after the Revolution, where the preſent Majeſty is in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) theſe remarkable words, *To which we bind ourſelves and our poſterity for ever.* Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form as they pleaſe; and reaſoners may argue, that ſuch an obligation is againſt the very nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excuſed in thinking a right ſo confirmed is *indefeaſible;* and if there be any abſurdity in ſuch an opinion, he is not to anſwer for it.

P. S. When this paper was going to the preſs, the printer brought me two more *Obſervators*,

* Dr Burnet biſhop of Sarum.

wholly taken up in my *Examiner* upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are juſt ſuch an anſwer, as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to ſay on that matter.

N° 16. Thurſday, November 23. 1710.

Qui ſunt boni cives? Qui belli, qui domi de patria bene merentes, niſi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt?

I Will employ this preſent paper upon a ſubject, which of late hath very much affected me, which I have conſidered with a good deal of application, and made ſeveral inquiries about among thoſe perſons, who, I thought, were beſt able to inform me; and if I deliver my ſentiments with ſome freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that tenderneſs which ſo nice a point requires.

I ſaid in a former paper (N° 13.) that one ſpecious objection to the late removals at court was the fear of giving uneaſineſs to a General, who hath been long ſucceſsful abroad: and accordingly, the common clamour of tongues and pens, for ſome months paſt, hath run againſt the baſeneſs, the inconſtancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the Duke of Marlborough, in return of the moſt eminent ſervices that ever were performed by a ſubject to his country; not to be equalled in hiſtory: And then, to be ſure, ſome bitter ſtroke of detraction againſt Alexander

der and Cæſar, who never did us the leaſt injury. Beſides, the people, who read Plutarch, come upon us with parallels drawn from the Greeks and Romans, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their moſt deſerving generals: while the profounder politicians have ſeen pamphlets, where Tacitus and Machiavel have been quoted to ſhew the danger of too reſplendent a merit. If a ſtranger ſhould hear theſe furious outcries of ingratitude againſt our General, without knowing the particulars, he would be apt to inquire, where was his tomb, or whether he were allowed Chriſtian burial? not doubting but we had put him to ſome ignominious death. Or, hath he been tried for his life, and very narrowly eſcaped? Hath he been accuſed of high crimes and miſdemeanours? Hath the prince ſeized on his eſtate, and left him to ſtarve? Hath he been hooted at, as he paſſed the ſtreets, by an ungrateful rabble? Have neither honours, offices, nor grants been conferred on him or his family? Have not he and they been barbarouſly ſtripped of them all? Have not he and his forces been ill paid abroad? And doth not the prince, by a ſcanty limited commiſſion, hinder him from purſuing his own methods in the conduct of the war? Hath he no power at all of diſpoſing of commiſſions as he pleaſeth? Is he not ſeverely uſed by the miniſtry or parliament, who yearly call him to a ſtrict account? Hath the ſenate ever thanked him for good ſucceſs; and have they not always publicly cenſured him for the leaſt miſcar-

riage?—Will the accuſers of the nation join iſſue upon any of theſe particulars, or tell us in what point our damnable ſin of ingratitude lies?—Why, it is plain and clear; for while he is commanding abroad, the Queen diſſolves her parliament, and changes her miniſtry at home; in which *univerſal calamity* no leſs than *two perſons*, allied by marriage to the General, have loſt their places. Whence came this wonderful ſympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in Flanders refuſe to fight, unleſs they can have *their own* Lord Keeper, *their own* Lord Preſident of the council, *their own* Chief Governor of Ireland, and *their own* parliament? In a kingdom, where the people are free, how came they to be ſo fond of having their counſels under the influence of the army, or thoſe that lead it? who, in all well-inſtituted ſtates, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reſerve.

When a general is not ſo popular, either in his army or at home, as one might expect from a long courſe of ſucceſs; it may perhaps be aſcribed to his *wiſdom*, or perhaps to his complexion. The poſſeſſion of ſome one *quality*, or a defect in *ſome other*, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the ſoldiers. Beſides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a Queen, who engroſſeth all our love and all our veneration; and where the only way for a great general or miniſter to acquire any degree of ſubordinate affection

fection from the public, muſt be by all marks of the moſt *entire ſubmiſſion and reſpect* to her ſacred perſon and commands; otherwiſe no pretence of great ſervices, either in the field or the cabinet, will be able to ſcreen them from univerſal hatred.

But the late miniſtry was cloſely joined to the General by friendſhip, intereſt, alliance, inclination, and opinion; which cannot be affirmed of the preſent: and the ingratitude of the nation lieth in the people's *joining as one man* to wiſh, that ſuch a miniſtry ſhould be changed. Is it not at the ſame time notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but a tender regard to the General was able to preſerve that miniſtry ſo long until neither God nor man could ſuffer their continuance? Yet in the higheſt ferment of things we heard few or no reflections upon this great commander; but all ſeemed unanimous in wiſhing, he might ſtill be at the head of the confederate forces; only at the ſame time, in caſe he were reſolved to reſign, they choſe rather to turn their thoughts ſomewhere elſe than throw up all in deſpair. And this I cannot but add, in defence of the people with regard to the perſon we are ſpeaking of, that in the high ſtation he hath been for many years paſt, his *real defects* (as nothing human is without them) have, in a detracting age, been very ſparingly mentioned either in libels or converſation, and all his *ſucceſſes* very freely and univerſally applauded.

There is an active and paſſive ingratitude: Applying both to this occaſion, we may ſay, the firſt is, when a prince or people returns good ſervices with cruelty or ill uſage; the other is, when good ſervices are not at all, or very meanly, rewarded. We have already ſpoken of the former; let us therefore, in the ſecond place, examine, how the ſervices of our General have been rewarded; and whether, upon that article, either prince or people have been guilty of ingratitude?

Thoſe are the more valuable rewards which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor that they *fit our temper beſt*: I ſhall therefore ſay nothing of the title of *Duke*, or the *Garter*, which the Queen beſtowed upon the General in the beginning of her reign; but I ſhall come to *more ſubſtantial inſtances*, and mention nothing which hath not been given in the face of the world. The lands of Woodſtock may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000*l.* on the building of Blenheim caſtle 200,000*l.* have been already expended, although it be not yet near finiſhed; the grant of 5000*l.* *per annum* on the poſt-office is richly worth 100,000*l.* his principality in Germany may be computed at 30,000*l.* pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, 60,000*l.* the grant at the Pall-mall, the rangerſhip, &c. for want of more certain knowledge, may be called 10,000*l.* his own and his Dutcheſs's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed ſalaries, are

very

very low rated at 100,000*l.* Here is a good deal above half a million of money; and, I dare ſay, thoſe who are loudeſt with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a trifle in compariſon of what is *untold.*

The reaſon of my ſtating this account is only to convince the world, that we are not quite ſo ungrateful either as the Greeks or the Romans; and in order to adjuſt this matter with all fairneſs, I ſhall confine myſelf to the latter, who were much the more generous of the two. A victorious general of Rome, in the height of that empire, having *entirely ſubdued his enemies*, was rewarded with a larger triumph, and perhaps a ſtatue in the Forum, a bull for a ſacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inſcriptions; ſometimes five hundred or a thouſand copper coins were ſtruck on occaſion of the victory, which, doing honour to the General, we will place to his account; and laſtly, ſometimes, although not very frequently, a triumphal arch. Theſe are all the rewards, that I can call to mind, which a victorious general received after his return from the moſt glorious expedition; having conquered ſome great kingdom, brought the King himſelf, his family and nobles, to adorn the triumph in chains; and made the kingdom either a Roman province, or at beſt a poor depending ſtate in humble alliance to that empire. Now, of all theſe rewards I find but two, which were of real profit to the General;

neral; the *laurel-crown* made and ſent him at the charge of the public, and the *embroidered garment*; but I cannot find, whether this laſt was paid for by the ſenate or the General; however, we will take the more favourable opinion; and in all the reſt admit the whole expence, as if it were ready money in the General's pocket. Now, according to theſe computations on both ſides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of Roman gratitude, and the other of Britiſh ingratitude, and ſet them together in balance.

A bill of ROMAN *gratitude.*

Imprim.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
For frankincenſe and earthen pots to burn it in	4	10	0
A bull for ſacrifice	8	0	1
An embroidered garment	50	0	0
A crown of laurel	0	0	2
A ſtatue	100	0	0
A trophy	80	0	0
A thouſand copper medals, value half-pence apiece	2	1	8
A triumphal arch	500	0	0
A triumphal car, valued as a modern coach	100	0	0
Caſual charges at the triumph	150	0	0
	994	11	10

A bill of BRITISH *ingratitude.*

Imprim.	*l.*
Woodſtock	40000
Blenheim	200000
Poſt-office grant	100000
Mildenheim	30000
Pictures, jewels, *&c.*	60000
Pall-Mall grant, *&c.*	10000
Employments	100000
	540000

This is an account of the viſible profits on both ſides; and if the Roman general had any *private perquiſites*, they may be eaſily diſcounted, and by more probable computations; and differ yet more upon

upon the balance, if we conſider, that all the gold and ſilver for *ſafeguards* and *contributions*, alſo all *valuable prizes* taken in the war, were openly expoſed in the triumph, and then lodged in the Capitol for the public ſervice.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite ſo bad at *worſt* as the Romans were at *beſt*. And I doubt thoſe, who raiſe this hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily miſtaken in the conſequence they propoſe from ſuch complaints. I remember a ſaying of Seneca, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus*; we *find* many ungrateful perſons in the world, but we *make* more, by ſetting too high a rate upon our pretenſions, and undervaluing the rewards we receive. When unreaſonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the middle. Where there have been long accounts between two perſons, I have known one of them perpetually making large demands, and preſſing for payments; who, when the accounts were caſt up on both ſides, was found to be debtor for ſome hundreds. I am thinking, if a proclamation were iſſued out for every man to ſend in his *bill of merits*, and the loweſt price he ſet them at, what a pretty ſum it would amount to, and how many ſuch iſlands as this muſt be ſold to pay them. I form my judgment from the practice of thoſe, who ſometimes happen to *pay themſelves*, and, I dare affirm, would not be ſo unjuſt to take a farthing more than they think is due to their deſerts. I

will

will inſtance only in one article: A Lady * of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-ſix pounds a-year out of her allowance for certain uſes, which her woman received †, and was to pay to the Lady or her order, as it was called for. But after eight years it appeared, upon the ſtricteſt calculation, that the woman had paid but four pounds a-year, and ſunk two and twenty for her own pocket. It is but ſuppoſing, inſtead of twenty-ſix pounds, twenty-ſix thouſand; and by that you may judge, what the pretenſions of *modern merit* are, where it happens to be its own paymaſter.

No 17.

* Suppoſed to be her late Majeſty Q. Anne.

† The matter was this. At the Queen's acceſſion to the government, ſhe uſed to lament to me, that the crown being impoveriſhed by former grnts, ſhe wanted the power her predeceſſors had enjoyed to reward faithful ſervants; and ſhe deſired me to take out of the privy purſe 2000 l. a-year, in order to purchaſe for my advantage. ——As her Majeſty was ſo good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted——I conſtantly declined it, till——ſhe was pleaſed to diſmiſs me from her ſervice. Then indeed——I ſent the Queen one of her own letters, in which ſhe had preſſed me to take the 2000 l. a year; and I wrote at the ſame time to aſk her Majeſty, whether ſhe would allow me to charge in the privy-purſe accounts, which I was to ſend her, that yearly ſum *from the time of the offer*, amounting to 18,000 l. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, I might charge it. This therefore I did *Account of the conduct of the Dowager Dutcheſs of Marlborough*, p. 294, 295. *Hawkeſ.*

N° 17. Thurſday, November 30. 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, ſuperbia in contumeliis officere potuiſſet; eas omnes ſeſe, hoc uno prætore per triennium, pertuliſſe aiebant.

WHEN I firſt undertook this paper, I was reſolved to concern myſelf only with *things*, and not with *perſons*. Whether I have kept or broken this reſolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the pains to examine, but leave the matter to thoſe little antagoniſts, who may want a topic for criticiſm. Thus much I have diſcovered, that it is in writing as in building, where, after all our ſchemes and calculations, we are mightily deceived in our accounts, and often forced to make uſe of any materials we can find, that the work may be kept a-going. Beſides, to ſpeak my opinion, the *things* I have occaſion to mention are ſo cloſely linked to *perſons*, that nothing but *time* (the father of *oblivion*) can ſeparate them. Let me put a parallel caſe: Suppoſe I ſhould complain, that laſt week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a ſmooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horſes; to be ſure all my friends would immediately lay the fault upon John, becauſe they knew he then *preſided* in my coach-box. Again, ſuppoſe I ſhould diſcover ſome uneaſineſs to find myſelf, I knew not how, over head and ears in debt, although I were ſure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never ſpent half my income;

they

they would certainly adviſe me to turn off Mr Oldfox * my *receiver*, and take another. If, as a Juſtice of Peace, I ſhould tell a friend, that my *warrants* and *mittimuſes* were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the misfortune to ſend an honeſt man to goal, and diſmiſs a knave; he would bid me no longer truſt Charles and Harry †, my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, aſſuming, and ill-inclined fellows. If I ſhould add, that my tenants made me very uneaſy with their ſquabbles and broils among themſelves, he would counſel me to caſhier Will Bigamy ‡, the *ſeneſchal* of my manor. And laſtly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a miſunderſtanding about the *delivery of a meſſage*, what could I do leſs than ſtrip and diſcard the *blundering* or *malicious* raſcal who carried it?

It is the ſame thing in the conduct of public affairs, where they have been managed with raſhneſs or wilfulneſs, corruption, ignorance, or injuſtice. Barely to relate the facts, at leaſt while they are freſh in memory, will as much reflect upon the *perſons* concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore ſince thought of another expedient, frequently practiſed with great ſafety and ſucceſs by ſatyrical writers; which is that of

* Lord Godolphin.

† Earl of Sunderland, and Henry Boyle, Eſq; were at this time Secretaries of State.

‡ Lord C——r C——r.

looking into hiſtory for ſome character bearing a reſemblance to the perſon we would deſcribe; and with the abſolute power of altering, adding, or ſuppreſſing what circumſtances we pleaſe, I conceive we muſt have very bad luck, or very little ſkill, to fail. However, ſome days ago, in a coffee-houſe, looking into one of the politic weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this ſcheme; and I happened to light on that part, where he was deſcribing a perſon, who, from ſmall beginnings, grew (as I remember) to be Conſtable of France, and had a very *haughty imperious wife*. I took the author for a friend to our *faction* (for ſo, with great propriety of ſpeech, they call the Queen and miniſtry, almoſt the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom;) and I ſaid to a gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what perſons the author meant, yet there were ſeveral particulars in the *huſband's* character which I could not reconcile; for that of the *Lady*, it was juſt and adequate enough. But it ſeems I miſtook the whole matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of perſons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now, to avoid ſuch a misfortune as this, I have been for ſome time conſulting Livy and Tacitus, to find out the character of a *Princeps ſenatus*, a *Prætor urbanus*, a *Quæſtor ærarius*, a *Cæſari ab epiſtolis*, and a *Proconſul*: But among the worſt of them I cannot diſcover one, from whom to draw a parallel, without doing injury to a Roman memory;

mory; ſo that I am compelled to have recourſe to Tully. But this author, relating facts only as an orator, I thought it would be beſt to obſerve his method, and make an extract from ſix harangues of his againſt Verres, only ſtill preſerving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceaſed about two months ago, preſented the world with a ſpeech of Alcibiades againſt an Athenian brewer. Now, I am told for certain, that in thoſe days there was no ale in Athens; therefore that ſpeech, or at leaſt a great part of it, muſt needs be ſpurious. The difference between my brother and me is this; he makes Alcibiades ſay a great deal more than he really did, and I make Cicero ſay a great deal leſs. This Verres * had been the *Roman* governor of Sicily for three years; and, on his return from his government, the Sicilians intreated Cicero to impeach him in the ſenate; which he accordingly did in ſeveral orations, from whence I have faithfully tranſlated and abſtracted that which follows:

"MY LORDS,

"A pernicious opinion hath for ſome time "prevailed, not only at Rome, but among our "neighbouring nations, that a man who hath "money enough, although he be ever ſo guilty, "cannot be condemned in this place. But, how-"ever induſtriouſly this opinion be ſpread to caſt "an odium on the ſenate, we have brought be-

 "fore

* Earl of Wharton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

" fore your Lordſhips Caius Verres, a perſon for
" his life and actions already condemned by all
" men: But, as he hopes and gives out, by the
" influence of his wealth, to be here abſolved; in
" condemning this man, you have an opportuni-
" ty of belying that general ſcandal, of redeem-
" ing the *credit loſt by former judgments*, and reco-
" vering the love of the Roman people, as well
" as of our neighbours. I have brought here a
" man before you, my Lords, who is a robber
" of the public treaſure, an overturner of law and
" juſtice, and the diſgrace as well as deſtruction
" of the Sicilian province; of whom if you ſhall
" determine with equity and due ſeverity, your
" authority will remain entire, and upon ſuch
" an eſtabliſhment as it ought to be: But if his
" great riches will be able to force their way
" through that religious reverence and truth,
" which become ſo awful an aſſembly; I ſhall
" however obtain thus much, that the defect will
" be laid where it ought, and that it ſhall not
" be objected, that the criminal was not produ-
" ced, or that there wanted an orator to accuſe
" him. This man, my Lords, hath publicly ſaid,
" that thoſe ought to be afraid of accuſations, who
" have only robbed enough for their own ſupport
" and maintenance; but that he hath plundered
" ſufficient to bribe numbers; and that nothing
" is ſo high or ſo holy, which money cannot cor-
" rupt. Take that ſupport from him, and he
" can have no other left: For what eloquence
" will be able to defend a man, whoſe life hath

" been

" been tainted with ſo many ſcandalous vices,
" and who hath been ſo long condemned by the
" univerſal opinion of the world? To paſs over
" the foul ſtains and ignominy of his youth, his
" corrupt management in all employments he
" hath borne, his treachery and irreligion, his
" injuſtice and oppreſſion; he hath left of late
" ſuch monuments of his villanies in Sicily,
" made ſuch havock and confuſion there, during
" his government, that the province cannot by
" any means be reſtored to its former ſtate,
" and can hardly recover itſelf at all under many
" years, and by a long ſucceſſion of good govern-
" ors. While this man governed in that iſland,
" the Sicilians had neither the benefit of our
" laws nor their own, nor even of common right.
" In Sicily no man now poſſeſſes more, than
" what the governor's luſt and avarice have
" overlooked, or what he was forced to ne-
" glect out of mere wearineſs and ſatiety of op-
" preſſion. Every thing, where he preſided, was
" determined by his arbitrary will; and the beſt
" ſubjects he treated as enemies. To recount
" his abominable debaucheries would offend any
" modeſt ear, ſince ſo many could not preſerve their
" daughters and wives from his luſt. I believe
" there is no man, who ever heard his name,
" that cannot relate his enormities. We bring
" before you in judgment, my Lords, a public
" robber, an adulterer, a DEFILER OF AL-

" TARS *, an enemy of religion and of all that is " ſacred. In Sicily he ſold all employments of judi- " cature, magiſtracy, and truſt, places in the coun- " ſel, and the *prieſthood* itſelf, to the higheſt bid- " der; and hath plundered that iſland of forty " millions of ſeſterces. And here I cannot but ob- " ſerve to your Lordſhips, in what manner Verres " paſſed the day: The morning was ſpent in ta- " king bribes and ſelling employments; the reſt " of it in drunkenneſs and luſt. His diſcourſe at " table was ſcandalouſly unbecoming the dig- " nity of his ſtation; noiſe, brutality, and ob- " ſceneneſs. One particular I cannot omit; that " in the high character of governor of Sicily, " upon a ſolemn day, a day ſet apart for public " prayer for the ſafety of the commonwealth, he " ſtole at evening in a chair to a married woman " of infamous character, againſt all decency and " prudence, as well as againſt all laws both hu- " man and divine. Didſt thou think, O Verres! " the government of Sicily was given thee with " ſo large a commiſſion, only, by the power of " that, to break all the bars of law, modeſty, and " duty; to ſuppoſe all mens fortunes thine, " and leave no houſe free from thy rapine and " luſt?" &c.

This extract, to deal ingenuouſly, hath coſt me more pains, than I think it is worth; having only ſerved to convince me, that modern corruptions are

* The ſtory of the Lord Wharton is true; who, with ſome other wretches, went into a pulpit and defiled it in the moſt filthy manner.

are not to be paralleled by antient examples, without having recourſe to poetry or fable. For inſtance, I never read in ſtory of a law enacted to take away the force of all laws whatſoever; by which a man may ſafely commit, upon the laſt of June, what he would infallibly be hanged for if he committed on the firſt of July; by which the greateſt criminals may eſcape, provided they continue long enough in power to antiquate their crimes, and by ſtifling them a while can deceive the legiſlature into an *amneſty*, of which the enactors do not at that time foreſee the conſequence. A cautious merchant will be apt to ſuſpect, when he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning dealer, and with whom he hath old accounts, urging for a general releaſe. When I reflect on this proceeding, I am not ſurpriſed that thoſe, who contrived a parliamentary *ſponge* for their *crimes*, are now afraid of a new Revolution-*ſponge* for their *money*; and, if it were poſſible, to contrive a *ſponge* that could only affect thoſe who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.

N° 18. Thurſday, December 9. 1710.

Quippe ubi fas verſum atque nefas; tot bella per orbem;
Tam multa ſcelerum facies———

I AM often violently tempted, to let the world freely know who the author of this paper is, to tell them my name and titles at length; which would prevent abundance of inconſiſtent criti-

ciſms

ciſms I daily hear upon it. Thoſe who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance, are ſometimes apt to quarrel with the *Examiner*, as defective in point of wit, and ſometimes of truth. At other times, they are ſo generous and candid to allow, it is written by a club, and that very great *hands* have *fingers* in it. As for thoſe who only appear its adverſaries in print, they give me but very little pain. The paper, I hold, lies at my mercy, and I can govern it as I pleaſe; therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too deep, and the ſatire too keen for me to deal with, (a very frequent caſe, no doubt, where a man is conſtantly attacked by ſuch ſhrewd adverſaries) I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aſide, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the ſame power over people's tongues, and not to be forced to hear my own work railed at, and commended, fifty times a-day; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining out of policy or good manners with the judgment of both parties: This, I confeſs, is too great a hardſhip for ſo baſhful and unexperienced a writer.

But, alas! I lie under another diſcouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice of my party, when I ſet up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to diſcover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cauſe, which the Queen and both Houſes of parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have

have ſo unanimouſly embraced? I am cruelly afraid, we politic authors muſt begin to leſſen our expences, and lie for the future at the mercy of our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourſelves into places or penſions. A certain ſtarveling author, who *worked* under the late adminiſtration, told me with a heavy heart, above a month ago, that he, and ſome others of his brethren, had ſecretly offered their ſervice, dog-cheap, to the preſent miniſtry, but were all refuſed; and are now maintained by contribution, like *Jacobites* or *Fanatics*. I have been of late employed, out of perfect commiſeration, in doing them good offices: For whereas ſome were of opinion, that theſe hungry zealots ſhould not be ſuffered any longer, in their malapert way, to ſnarl at the preſent courſe of public proceedings; and whereas others propoſed, that they ſhould be limited to a certain number, and permitted to write for their *maſters*, in the ſame manner as counſel are aſſigned for other criminals, that is, to ſay all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court; I humbly gave my advice, that they ſhould be ſuffered to write on, as they uſed to do; which I did purely out of regard to their perſons; for I hoped it would keep them out of harm's way, and prevent them from falling into evil courſes; which, although of little conſequence to the public, would certainly be *fatal to themſelves*. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will tranſcribe a petition to the preſent miniſtry, ſent me by one

of

of theſe authors in behalf of himſelf and fourſcore of his brethren.

For my own part, notwithſtanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I ſhall continue my paper, till either the world or myſelf grow weary of it: The latter is eaſily determined; and for the former, I ſhall not leave it to the partiality of either party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I deſigned by it, was to undeceive thoſe well-meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong ſenſe of things, either by the common prejudices of education and company, the great perſonal qualities of ſome party-leaders, or the foul miſrepreſentations that were conſtantly made of all, who durſt differ from them in the ſmalleſt article. I have known ſuch men ſtruck with the thoughts of ſome late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any reaſon viſible to the world. In anſwer to this, it is not ſufficient to alledge, what no-body doubts, that a good and wiſe prince may be allowed to change his miniſters without giving a reaſon to his ſubjects; becauſe it is probable, that he will not make ſuch a change without very important reaſons; and a good ſubject ought to ſuppoſe, that in ſuch a caſe there are ſuch reaſons, although he be not appriſed of them; otherwiſe he muſt inwardly tax his prince of capriciouſneſs, inconſtancy, or ill deſign. Such reaſons indeed may not be obvious to perſons prejudiced, or at a great

great diſtance, or ſhort thinkers; and therefore if there be no ſecrets of ſtate, nor any ill conſequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand to lay them open for the ſatisfaction of all men. And if what I have already ſaid, or ſhall hereafter ſay, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon *perſons*, although none have been named, I know not how it can poſſibly be avoided. The Queen, in her ſpeech, mentions *with great concern*, that "the navy and other offices "are burthened with heavy debts; and deſires, "that the like may be prevented for the time "to come." And if it be *now* poſſible to prevent the continuance of an evil that hath been ſo long growing upon us, and is arrived to ſuch a height; ſurely thoſe corruptions and miſmanagements muſt have been great, which firſt introduced them, before our taxes were eaten up by annuities.

If I were able to rip up and diſcover, in all their colours, only about eight or nine thouſand of the moſt ſcandalous abuſes, that have been committed in all parts of public management for twenty years paſt, by a certain ſet of men and their inſtruments, I ſhould reckon it ſome ſervice to my country and poſterity. But to ſay the truth, I ſhould be glad the authors names were conveyed to future times along with their actions. For although the preſent age may underſtand well enough the little hints we give, the parallels we draw, and the characters we deſcribe;

yet all this will be loſt to the next. However, if theſe papers, *reduced into a more durable form*, ſhould happen to live till our grandchildren be men, I hope they may have curioſity enough to conſult annals, and compare dates, in order to find out what names were then intruſted with the conduct of affairs, in the conſequences whereof themſelves will ſo deeply ſhare; like a heavy debt in a private family, which often lies an incumbrance upon an eſtate for three generations.

But leaving the care of informing poſterity to better pens, I ſhall, with due regard to truth, diſcretion, and the ſafety of my perſon from the men of *the new-fangled moderation*, continue to take all proper opportunities of letting the miſled part of the people ſee how groſsly they have been abuſed, and in what particulars. I ſhall alſo endeavour to convince them, that the preſent courſe we are in is the moſt probable means, with the bleſſing of God, to extricate ourſelves out of all our difficulties.

Among thoſe who are pleaſed to write or talk againſt this paper, I have obſerved a ſtrange manner of reaſoning, which I ſhould be glad to hear them explain themſelves upon. They make no ceremony of exclaiming upon all occaſions againſt a change of miniſtry in ſo critical and dangerous a conjuncture. What ſhall we, who heartily approve and join in thoſe proceedings, ſay in defence of them? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they deſcribe: We are puſhed for an anſwer; and are forced at laſt freely to confeſs,

that

that the corruptions and abuſes in every branch of the adminiſtration were ſo numerous and intolerable, that all things muſt have ended in ruin, without ſome ſpeedy reformation. This I have already aſſerted in a former paper; and the replies I have read, or heard, have been in plain terms to affirm the direct contrary; and not only to defend and celebrate the late perſons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance for caſting reflections on ſo many great and honourable men, whoſe *births, virtue, and abilities, whoſe morals and religion, whoſe love of their country, and its conſtitution in church and ſtate*, were ſo univerſally allowed; and all this ſet off with odious compariſons, reflecting on the preſent choice: Is not this in plain and direct terms to tell all the world, that the Queen hath, in a moſt dangerous criſis, turned out a whole ſet of the beſt miniſters, that ever ſerved a prince, without any manner of reaſon, but her royal pleaſure, and brought in others of a character directly contrary? And how ſo vile an opinion as this can conſiſt with the leaſt pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine.

I confeſs myſelf ſo little a refiner in politics, as not to be able to diſcover what other motive, beſides obedience to the Queen, a ſenſe of public danger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could ſpirit up thoſe great men, who have now, under her Majeſty's authority, undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect, but the utmoſt efforts of

malice, from a ſet of enraged domeſtic adverſaries perpetually watching over their conduct, croſſing all their deſigns, and uſing every art to foment diviſions among them, in order to join with the weakeſt, upon any rupture? The difficulties they muſt encounter are nine times more and greater than ever; and the proſpects of intereſt, after the *reapings* and *gleanings* of ſo many years, nine times leſs. Every misfortune at home or abroad, although the neceſſary conſequence of former counſels, will be imputed to them; and all the good ſucceſs given to the merit of former ſchemes. A ſharper hath held your cards all the evening, played booty, and loſt your money; and, when things are almoſt deſperate, you employ an honeſt gentleman to retrieve your loſſes.

I would aſk, Whether the Queen's ſpeech doth not contain her intentions, in every particular relating to the public, that a good ſubject, a Britain, and a Proteſtant, can poſſibly have at heart? "To carry on the war in all its parts, particu- "larly in Spain, with the utmoſt vigour, in or- "der to procure a ſafe and honourable peace for "us and our allies; to find ſome ways of paying "the debts of the navy; to ſupport and encou- "rage the church of England; to preſerve the "Britiſh conſtitution according to the Union; "to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to "ſcrupulous conſciences; and to employ none but "ſuch as are for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the "houſe of Hanover." It is known enough, that

ſpeeches

ſpeeches on theſe occaſions are ever digeſted by the advice of thoſe who are in the chief confidence; and conſequently, that theſe are the ſentiments of her Majeſty's miniſters, as well as her own; and we ſee the two Houſes have unanimouſly agreed with her in every article. When the leaſt counterpaces are made to any of theſe reſolutions, it will then be time enough for our malecontents to bawl out *popery*, *perſecution*, *arbitrary power*, and the *Pretender*. In the mean while, it is a little hard to think, that this iſland can hold but ſix men of honeſty and ability enough to ſerve their prince and country; or that our ſafety ſhould depend upon their credit, any more than it would upon the breath in their noſtrils. Why ſhould not a *revolution* in the miniſtry be ſometimes neceſſary, as well as a *revolution* in the crown? It is to be preſumed, the former is at leaſt as lawful in itſelf, and perhaps the experiment not quite ſo dangerous. The *revolution* of the *ſun* about the *earth* was formerly thought a neceſſary expedient to ſolve appearances, although it left many difficulties unanſwered; until philoſophers contrived a better, which is that of the *earth's revolution* about the *ſun*. This is found upon experience to ſave much time and labour, to correct many irregular motions, and is better ſuited to the reſpect due from a *planet* to a *fixed ſtar*.

N° 19. Thurſday, December 14. 1710.

Sunt quibus in ſatyra videar nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus: ſine nervis altera quicquid
Compoſui pars eſſe putat———

WHEN the printer came laſt week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of thoſe papers, which, in the phraſe of *whig-coffee-houſes*, have *ſwinged off the Examiner*; moſt of which I had never ſeen or heard of before. I remember ſome time ago, in one of the *Tatlers*, to have read a letter, wherein ſeveral reaſons are aſſigned for the preſent corruption and degeneracy of our taſte; but I think the writer hath omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuſe either ſide of this infirmity: I have heard the arranteſt drivellers *pro* and *con* commended for their ſhrewdneſs, even by men of tolerable judgment; and the beſt performances exploded as nonſenſe and ſtupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to policy and prudence; but it is chiefly owing to that blindneſs, which prejudice and paſſions caſt over the underſtanding. I mention this, becauſe I think it properly within my province in quality of *Examiner*. And, having granted more than is uſual for an enemy to do, I muſt now take leave to ſay, that ſo weak a *cauſe*, and ſo ruined a *faction*, were never provided with pens more reſembling their condition, or leſs ſuited to their occaſions.

Non

Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis,
Tempus eget———

This is the more to be wondered at, when we conſider they have the full liberty of the preſs; that they have no other way left to recover themſelves; and that they want not men of excellent parts to ſet their arguments in the beſt light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both ſides with fairneſs, good ſenſe, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the moſt effectual means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that men of great genius are hardly brought to proſtitute their pens in a very odious *cauſe;* which, beſides, is more properly undertaken by noiſe and impudence, by groſs railing and ſcurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little trifling cavils and carpings in the wrong place, which thoſe *whiffers* uſe for arguments and anſwers.

I was well enough pleaſed with a ſtory of one of theſe anſwerers, who in a paper laſt week found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it ſeems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was reſolved to begin his anſwer with a Latin verſe as well as other folk. His buſineſs was to look out for ſomething againſt an *Examiner*, that would pretend to *tax* accounts; and turning over Virgil, he had the luck to find theſe words,

———fugiant examina taxos:

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unluckly *prompters* had not hindered it.

I here declare, once for all, that if theſe people will not be quiet; I ſhall take the bread out of their mouths, and anſwer the *Examiner* myſelf; which I proteſt I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have thoſe anſwers been written or publiſhed with my privity, as malicious people are pleaſed to give out; nor do I believe the common *whiggiſh* report, that the authors are hired by the miniſtry to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneaſineſs with their impatience, than its enemies by their anſwers. I heard myſelf cenſured laſt week by ſome of the former, for promiſing to diſcover the corruptions of the late adminiſtration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other ſide, are thundering out their *anathemas* againſt me for diſcovering ſo many. I am at a loſs how to decide between theſe contraries, and ſhall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done; my deſign being of more importance, than that of writing only to gratify the ſpleen of one ſide, or provoke that of the other, although it may occaſionally have both effects.

I ſhall therefore go on to relate ſome facts that, in my humble opinion, were no hindrance to the change of the miniſtry.

The firſt I ſhall mention, was that of introducing

ducing certain new phraſes into the court-ſtyle, which had been very ſeldom, or never, made uſe of in former times. They uſually run in the following terms: "Madam, I cannot ſerve you "while ſuch a one is in employment. I deſire "humbly to reſign my commiſſion, if Mr —— "continues ſecretary of ſtate. I cannot anſwer "that the city will lend money, unleſs my L—d "—— be Preſident of the council. I muſt beg "leave to ſurrender, except —— has the ſtaff. "I muſt not accept the ſeals, unleſs —— comes "into the other office." This hath been the language of late years from ſubjects to their prince. Thus they ſtood upon terms, and muſt have their own conditions to ruin the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had ſpread ſo far, that every under-ſtrapper began at length to perk up and aſſume; he *expected a regiment*; or *his ſon muſt be a major*; or *his brother a collector*; elſe he threatened to *vote according to his conſcience*.

Another of their glorious attempts was the clauſe intended in the bill *for the encouragement of learning*, by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges in both univerſities to enter upon holy orders: the deſign of which, as I have heard the undertakers often confeſs, was to remove the care of educating youth out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuſe into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther ſecret in this clauſe, which may beſt be diſcovered by the firſt projectors, or at leaſt the *garblers* of it; and theſe are

known

known to be Collins and Tindal, in conjunction with a moſt pious lawyer, their diſciple.

What ſhall we ſay to their prodigious ſkill in *arithmetic*, diſcovered ſo conſtantly in their deciſion of elections; which they were able to make out by the *rule of falſe*, that *three* were more than *three and twenty*, and *fifteen* than *fifty?* Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them diſpute, that in determining elections they were not to conſider where the right lay, but which of the *candidates* was likelier to be true to the *cauſe*. This they uſed to illuſtrate by a very apt and decent ſimilitude of gaming with a ſharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

Another caſt of their politics was, that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent Lady*, for no reaſon imaginable, but her faithful and diligent ſervice to the Queen, and the favour her Majeſty bore to her upon that account, when others had acted contrary in ſo ſhameful a manner. What elſe was the crime? Had ſhe *treated her Royal Miſtreſs with inſolence or neglect?* Had ſhe *enriched herſelf by a long practice of bribery, and obtaining exorbitant grants?* Had ſhe *engroſſed her Majeſty's favours, without admitting any acceſs but through her means?* Had ſhe *heaped employments upon herſelf, her family, and dependants?* Had ſhe *an imperious haughty behaviour?* Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder, and miſtake of *one perſon for another?* I have heard of a man, who lay

* The Lady Maſham.

lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning wondering what it could poſſibly be that made him reſt ſo ill, happening to ſee a feather under him, imputed the uneaſineſs of his lodging to that. I remember likewiſe a ſtory of a giant in *Rabelais*, who uſed to feed upon *windmills*, but was unfortunately choaked with a ſmall lump of *freſh butter* before a warm oven.

And here I cannot but obſerve, how very refined ſome people are in their generoſity and gratitude. There is a certain great perſon (I ſhall not ſay of what ſex) who for many years paſt was the conſtant mark and butt, againſt which our preſent malecontents uſed to diſcharge their reſentment; upon whom they beſtowed all the terms of ſcurrility that malice, envy, and indignation could invent; whom they publicly accuſed of every vice that can poſſeſs a human heart; pride, covetouſneſs, ingratitude, oppreſſion, treachery, diſſimulation, violence, and fury, all in the higheſt extremes: But of late they have changed their language on a ſudden; that perſon is now the moſt faithful and juſt that ever ſerved a prince; that perſon, originally differing from them in principles as far as eaſt from weſt, but united in practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty reſemblances between each other, which they could never diſcover before. *Tanti eſt ut placeam tibi perire!*

But to return: How could it be longer ſuffered in a free nation, that all avenues to preferment ſhould be ſhut up, except a very few; when one

or

or two ſtood conſtant *centry*, who docked all favours they handed down, or ſpread a huge inviſible net between the prince and ſubject, through which nothing of value could paſs? And here I cannot but admire at one conſequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally ſpeaking, princes, who have ill miniſters, are apt to ſuffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people: But it was not ſo with the Queen. When the ſun is overcaſt by thoſe clouds he exhales from the earth, we ſtill acknowledge his light and influence, and at laſt find he can diſpel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wiſeſt prince, by the neceſſity of affairs, the miſrepreſentations of deſigning men, or the innocent miſtakes even of a good predeceſſor, may find himſelf encompaſſed by a crew of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and ſucceſs, have miſerably corrupted: And if he can ſave himſelf and his people from ruin under the *worſt* adminiſtration, what may not his ſubjects hope for, when with their univerſal applauſe he changeth hands, and maketh uſe of the *beſt*?

Another great objection with me againſt the late party, was the cruel tyranny they put upon *conſcience* by a *barbarous inquiſition*, refuſing to admit the leaſt *toleration* or *indulgence*. They impoſed an hundred *teſts*; but could never be prevailed on to *diſpenſe* with, or *take off* the ſmalleſt, or even to admit of *occaſional conformity*; but went on daily (as their apoſtle Tindal expreſſeth it) *narrowing their terms of communion*, pronouncing

nine

nine parts in ten of the kingdom *heretics*, and ſhutting them out of the pale of their church. Theſe very men, who talk ſo much of a *comprehenſion in religion* among us, how came they to allow ſo little of it in *politics*, which is *their ſole religion?* You ſhall hear them pretending to bewail the animoſities kept up between the church of England and diſſenters, where the differences in opinion are ſo few and inconſiderable; yet theſe very ſons of *moderation* were pleaſed to *excommunicate* every man, who diſagreed with them in the ſmalleſt *article* of their *political creed*, or who refuſed to receive any new *article*, how difficult ſoever to digeſt, which the leaders impoſed at pleaſure to ſerve their own intereſt.

I will quit this ſubject for the preſent, when I have told one ſtory: "There was a great king "in Scythia, whoſe dominions were bounded "on the north by the poor mountainous terri- "tories of a petty lord, who paid homage as "the King's vaſſal. The Scythian prime mini- "ſter, being largely *bribed*, indirectly obtained "his maſter's conſent to ſuffer this lord to build "forts, and provide himſelf with arms, under "pretence of preventing the inroads of the Tar- "tars. This little depending ſovereign, finding "he was now in a condition to be troubleſome, "began to inſiſt upon terms, and threatened up- "on every occaſion to unite with the Tartars: "Upon which, the prime miniſter, who began "to be in pain about his *head*, propoſed a *match* "betwixt his maſter, and the only daughter of

"this

" this tributary lord, which he had the good luck " to bring to paſs; and from that time valued " himſelf as author of a moſt glorious *union*, " which indeed was grown of abſolute neceſſity " by his corruption." This paſſage, cited literally from an old hiſtory of Sarmatia, I thought fit to ſet down on purpoſe to perplex little ſmattering remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for application.

N° 20. Thurſday, December 21. 1710.

——pugnacem ſcirent ſapiente minorem.

I AM very much at a loſs how to proceed upon the ſubject intended in this paper, which a new incident hath led me to engage in. The ſubject I mean, is that of *ſoldiers* and the *army*; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I ſhall handle it in as cautious a manner as I am able.

It is certain, that the art of war hath ſuffered great changes almoſt in every age and country of the world; however, there are ſome maxims relating to it, that will be eternal truths, and which every reaſonable man muſt allow.

In the early times of Greece and Rome, the armies of thoſe ſtates were compoſed of their citizens, who took no pay, becauſe the quarrel was their own; and therefore the war was uſually decided in one campaign; or, if it laſted longer, yet in winter the ſoldiers returned to their ſeveral callings, and were not diſtinguiſhed from the reſt

reſt of the people. The Gothic governments in Europe, although they were of military inſtitution, yet obſerved almoſt the ſame method. I ſhall inſtance only here in England: Thoſe who held lands *in capite* of the King, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of men, who all held lands from them at eaſy rents on that condition. Theſe fought without pay; and, when the ſervice was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of William Rufus, that being abſent in Normandy, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thouſand men to be raiſed, and ſent over from hence to ſupply his army; but having ſtruck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to diſband, upon condition they would pay him ten ſhillings a man, which amounted to a mighty ſum in thoſe days.

Conſider a kingdom as a great family, whereof the prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only *ſervants armed*, either to awe the *children* at home, or elſe to defend from invaders the family, who are otherwiſe employed, and chuſe to contribute out of their ſtock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their abſence. The art of making ſoldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, ſeems, in Europe, to have had two originals: The firſt was *uſurpation*; when popular men deſtroyed the liberties of their country, and ſeized the power into their own hands, which they were forced to maintain by

hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were antiently the *tyrants* in moſt of the ſmall ſtates of Greece; and ſuch were thoſe in ſeveral parts of Italy about three or four centuries ago, as Machiavel informs us. The other original of mercenary armies ſeems to have riſen from larger kingdoms, or commonwealths, which had ſubdued provinces at a diſtance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them to prevent inſurrections from the natives. Of this ſort were Macedon, Carthage, and Rome of old; Venice and Holland at this day; as well as moſt kingdoms of Europe. So that mercenary forces in a free ſtate, whether *monarchy* or *commonwealth*, ſeem only neceſſary, either for preſerving their conqueſts, (which, in ſuch governments, it is not prudent to extend too far), or elſe for maintaining war at a diſtance.

In this laſt, which at preſent is our moſt important caſe, there are certain maxims, that all wiſe governments have obſerved.

The firſt I ſhall mention is, that no *private* man ſhould have a commiſſion to be *general for life*, let his merit and ſervices be ever ſo great. Or, if a prince be unadviſedly brought to offer ſuch a commiſſion in one hand, let him (to ſave time and blood) deliver up his *crown* with the other. The Romans, in the height and perfection of their government, uſually ſet out one of the new *conſuls* to be general againſt their moſt formidable enemy, and recalled the old one, who often returned before the next election, and, according

cording as he had merit, was ſent to command in ſome other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a ſecond, and ſometimes a third year. But, if Paulus Æmilius, or Scipio himſelf, had preſumed to move the *ſenate* to continue their *commiſſions for life*, they would certainly have fallen a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of the people. Cæſar indeed (between whom, and a certain general, ſome of late, with much diſcretion, have made a *parallel*) had his command in Gaul continued to him for five years; and was afterwards made perpetual dictator, that is to ſay, *general for life*; which gave him the power and the will of utterly deſtroying the Roman liberty. But in his time the Romans were very much degenerated, and great corruptions had crept into their morals and diſcipline. However, we ſee there ſtill were ſome remains of a noble ſpirit among them; for when Cæſar ſent to be choſen conſul, notwithſtanding his abſence, they decreed he ſhould come in perſon, give up his command, and *petere more majorum*.

It is not impoſſible, but a general may deſire ſuch a commiſſion out of *inadvertency*, at the *inſtigation of his friends*, or perhaps of his *enemies*; or merely for the *benefit and honour of it*, without intending any ſuch *dreadful conſequences*; and in that caſe a wiſe prince, or ſtate, may barely refuſe it, without ſhewing any marks of their diſpleaſure. But the requeſt in its own nature is highly criminal, and ought to be entered ſo up-

on record, to terrify *others* in time to come from venturing to make it.

Another maxim to be obſerved by a free ſtate engaged in war is, to keep the military power in abſolute ſubjection to the civil, nor ever ſuffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A General and his army are *ſervants*, *hired* by the civil power to act as they are directed from thence, and with a commiſſion large or limited, as the adminiſtration ſhall think fit; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole ſyſtem by which armies are governed, is quite *alien* from the peaceful inſtitutions of ſtates at home; and if the rewards be ſo inviting as to tempt a ſenator to take a poſt in the army, whilſt he is there on his duty, he ought to conſider himſelf in no other capacity. I know not any ſort of men ſo apt as ſoldiers are to reprimand thoſe who preſume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When they hear any of us, in a coffee-houſe, wondering that ſuch a victory was not purſued; complaining that ſuch a town coſt more men and money than it was worth to take it; or that ſuch an opportunity was loſt of fighting the enemy; they preſently reprove us, and often with juſtice enough, for meddling in matters out of our ſphere; and clearly convince us of our miſtakes by terms of art that none of us underſtand. Nor do we eſcape ſo; for they reflect with the utmoſt contempt on our ignorance; that we, who ſit at home in eaſe and ſecurity, never ſtirring from our fire-ſides, ſhould pretend,

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from books and general reaſons, to argue upon military affairs; which after all, if we may judge from the ſhare of intellectuals in ſome who are ſaid to excel that way, is not ſo very profound or difficult a ſcience. But, if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, ſurely theſe gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themſelves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beſide their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to preſcribe rules for trade, to determine points in philoſophy, to be moderators in an aſſembly of divines, or direct in a court of juſtice, as to miſplace their talent in examining affairs of ſtate, eſpecially in what relates to the *choice of miniſters*, who are never ſo likely to be ill choſen as when approved by them. It would be endleſs to ſhew, how pernicious all ſteps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I ſhall only produce two at preſent; one in Rome, the other in England. The firſt is of Cæſar: When he came to the city with his ſoldiers to *ſettle the miniſtry*, there was an end of their liberty for ever. The ſecond was in the great rebellion againſt K. Charles I. The King and both Houſes were agreed upon the terms of a peace; but the officers of the army, as Ludlow relates it, ſet a guard upon the Houſe of Commons, took a liſt of the members, and kept all by force out of the Houſe except thoſe who were for bringing the King to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government,

and ruled the iſland by Major-generals, we received moſt admirable inſtances of their ſkill in politics. To ſay the truth, ſuch formidable ſticklers can have but two reaſons for deſiring to interfere in the adminiſtration; the firſt is that of Cæſar and Cromwell, of which God forbid I ſhould accuſe or ſuſpect any body, ſince the ſecond is pernicious enough, and that is, *to preſerve thoſe in power who are for perpetuating a war, rather than ſee others advanced, who, they are ſure, will uſe all proper means to promote a ſafe and honourable peace.*

Thirdly, Since it is obſerved of armies, that in the preſent age they are brought to ſome degree of humanity, and a more regular demeanour to each other and to the world, than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim to endeavour preſerving this temper among them; without which they would ſoon degenerate into *ſavages.* To this end it would be prudent, among other things, to forbid that deteſtable cuſtom of *drinking to the damnation or confuſion* of any perſon whatſoever.

Such deſperate acts, and the opinions infuſed along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to ſcatter madneſs and ſedition through a whole camp. So ſeldom upon *their knees to pray*, and ſo often to *curſe!* this is not properly atheiſm, but a ſort of *anti-religion* preſcribed by the devil, and which an atheiſt of common ſenſe would ſcorn as an abſurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice

laſt

laſt autumn, *ſomewhere or other*, to *drink damnation and confuſion* (and this with circumſtances very aggravating and horrid) to the *new miniſtry*, and to thoſe who had any hand in turning out the *old;* that is to ſay, to thoſe perſons whom her Majeſty has thought fit to employ in her greateſt affairs, with ſomething *more than a glance againſt the Queen herſelf.* And if it be true, that theſe *orgies* were attended with certain *doubtful words* of *ſtanding by their General*, who without queſtion abhorred them, let any man conſider the conſequence of ſuch diſpoſitions, if they ſhould happen to ſpread. I could only wiſh, for the honour of the army, as well as of the Queen and miniſtry, that a remedy had been applied to the diſeaſe in the *place* and *time* where it grew. If men of ſuch principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were ſure of a *general for life*, who had any tincture of ambition, we might ſoon bid farewel to miniſters and parliaments, whether new or old.

I am only ſorry ſuch an accident hath happened towards the cloſe of a war; when it is chiefly the intereſt of thoſe gentlemen, who have poſts in the army, to behave themſelves in ſuch a manner, as might encourage the legiſlature to make ſome proviſion for them, when there will be no further need of their ſervice. They are to conſider themſelves as perſons, by their education, unqualified for many other ſtations of life. Their fortunes will not ſuffer them to retain to a party after its *fall*, nor have they weight or abilities

lities to help towards its *reſurrection*. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to which they will never make their way by *ſolemn execrations of the miniſtry;* a miniſtry of the Queen's own election, and fully anſwering the wiſhes of her people. This unhappy ſtep in ſome of *their brethren*, may paſs for an uncontroulable argument, that politics are not their buſineſs, or their element. The fortune of war hath raiſed ſeveral perſons up to ſwelling titles, and great commands over numbers of men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a ſort of deportment that ought to have been dropt behind in that ſhort paſſage to Harwich. It puts me in mind of a dialogue in Lucian, where Charon wafting one of their predeceſſors over Styx, ordered him to ſtrip off his armour and fine clothes, yet ſtill thought him too heavy; "But, *ſaid he*, put off likewiſe that "pride and preſumption, thoſe high-ſwelling "words, and that vain-glory;" becauſe they were of no uſe on the other ſide the water. Thus, if all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper ſcene, it would be much more for the intereſt of the owners, and leſs offenſive to their fellow-ſubjects.

N° 21.

N° 21. Thurſday, December 28. 1710.

Nam et majorum inſtituta tueri, ſacris ceremoniiſque retinendis, ſapientis eſt.

——Ruituraque ſemper
Stat (mirum!) moles——

WHOEVER is a true lover of our conſtitution, muſt needs be pleaſed to ſee what ſucceſsful endeavours are daily made to reſtore it in every branch to its antient form, from the languiſhing condition it hath long lain in, and with ſuch deadly ſymptoms.

I have already handled ſome abuſes during the *late management*, and ſhall in convenient time go on with the reſt. Hitherto I have confined myſelf to thoſe of the ſtate; but, with the good leave of ſome who think it a matter of ſmall moment, I ſhall now take liberty to ſay ſomething of the *church*.

For ſeveral years paſt there hath not, I think, in Europe, been any ſociety of men upon ſo unhappy a foot as the *clergy* of England; nor more hardly treated by thoſe very perſons, from whom they deſerved much better quarter, and in whoſe power they chiefly had put it to uſe them ſo ill. I would not willingly miſrepreſent facts, but I think it generally allowed by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the *Revolution* againſt thoſe many invaſions of our rights proceeded principally from the clergy; who are likewiſe known to have rejected all advances made them to cloſe with the meaſures at

that

that time concerting; while the *diſſenters*, to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell into the baſeſt compliances with the Court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulſome addreſſes, and took employments and commiſſions by virtue of the diſpenſing power, againſt the direct laws of the land. All this is ſo true, that if ever the Pretender comes in, they will, next to thoſe of his own religion, have the faireſt claim and pretenſions to his favour from their merit and eminent ſervices to his ſuppoſed father, who, without ſuch encouragement, would probably never have been miſled to go the lengths he did. It ſhould likewiſe be remembered to the everlaſting honour of the London divines, that in thoſe dangerous times they writ and publiſhed the beſt collection of arguments againſt *popery*, that ever appeared in the world. At the Revolution, the body of the *clergy* joined heartily in the common cauſe (except a few, whoſe ſufferings perhaps have atoned for their miſtakes) like men who are content to go about for avoiding a gulph or a precipice, but come into the old ſtrait road again as ſoon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail: For as, in the reign of K. Charles I. ſeveral well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming ſome abuſes, while others, who had deeper deſigns, were ſtill calling out for a *thorough reformation*, which ended at laſt in the ruin of the kingdom; ſo, after the late King's coming to the throne, there was a reſtleſs cry, from men of

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the ſame principles, for a *thorough revolution*; which, as ſome were carrying it on, muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the monarchy and church.

What a violent humour hath run ever ſince againſt the clergy, and from what corner ſpread and fomented, is, I believe, manifeſt to all men. It looked like a ſet quarrel againſt *Chriſtianity*; and, if we call to mind ſeveral of the *leaders*, it muſt, in a great meaſure, have been actually ſo. Nothing was more common in writing and converſation, than to hear that reverend body charged in groſs with what was utterly inconſiſtent; deſpiſed for their poverty, hated for their riches; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury; accuſed for promoting arbitrary power, and for reſiſting the prerogative; cenſured for their pride, and ſcorned for their meanneſs of ſpirit. The repreſentatives of the lower clergy were railed at for diſputing the power of the biſhops by the known abhorrers of Epiſcopacy; and abuſed for doing nothing in the convocations by thoſe very men who helped to bind up their hands. The vice, the folly, the ignorance of every ſingle man, were laid upon the character: Their juriſdiction, cenſures, and diſcipline trampled under foot; yet mighty complaints againſt their exceſſive power: The men of wit employed to turn the prieſthood itſelf into ridicule: In ſhort, groaning every-where under the weight of poverty, oppreſſion, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money ſpent in their education to fit them for the ſervice of the

altar;

altar; and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church! However, it may be ſome comfort for perſons of that holy function, that their divine founder, as well as his *harbinger*, met with the like reception: *John came neither eating nor drinking, and they ſay, He hath a devil; the Son of man came eating and drinking, and they ſay, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber*, &c.

In this deplorable ſtate of the clergy, nothing but the hand of Providence, working by its glorious inſtrument, the Queen, could have been able to turn the people's hearts ſo ſurpriſingly in their favour. This princeſs, deſtined for the ſafety of Europe, and a bleſſing to her ſubjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church; and it was hoped the nation would have followed ſuch an example; which nothing could have prevented, but the falſe politics of a ſet of men, who form their maxims upon thoſe of every tottering commonwealth, which is always ſtruggling for life, ſubſiſting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. Theſe men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flouriſh, unleſs the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages; a ſyſtem only proper for ſmall popular ſtates, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown; which with us is beſt upheld by a monarchy in poſſeſſion of its juſt prerogative, a ſenate of nobles and of commons, and a clergy eſtabliſhed in its due rights, with a ſuitable maintenance by law.

law. But theſe men come with the ſpirit of *ſhop-keepers* to frame rules for the adminiſtration of kingdoms, or as if they thought the whole art of government conſiſted in the importation of *nutmegs*, and the curing of *herrings*. Such an iſland as ours can afford enough to ſupport the majeſty of a crown, the honour of nobility, and the dignity of a magiſtracy: we can encourage arts and ſciences, maintain our biſhops and clergy, and ſuffer our gentry to live in a decent hoſpitable manner; yet ſtill there will remain hands ſufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deſerve the beſt encouragement, but not to a degree of ſending every living ſoul into the *warehouſe* or the *work-ſhop*.

This pedantry of republican politics hath done infinite miſchief among us. To this we owe thoſe noble ſchemes of treating Chriſtianity as a ſyſtem of *ſpeculative opinions*, which no man ſhould be bound to believe; of making the *being* and the worſhip of God a *creature* of the ſtate; in conſequence of theſe, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleaſure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions; that they ſhould be *preſcribed* what to teach by thoſe who are to learn from them; and upon default have a *ſtaff* and a *pair of ſhoes* left at their door: with many other projects of equal piety, wiſdom, and good-nature.

But, God be thanked, they and their ſchemes are vaniſhed, and *their places ſhall know them no*

more. When I think of that inundation of atheiſm, infidelity, profaneneſs, and licentiouſneſs, which was like to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it firſt proceeded, and how the people joined with the Queen's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable paſſage in the Revelations, where *the ſerpent with* SEVEN *heads caſt out of his mouth water after the* WOMAN *like a flood, that he might cauſe her to be carried away of the flood: But the* EARTH *helped the* WOMAN, *and the earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed up the flood, which the dragon had caſt out of his mouth.* For the Queen having changed her miniſtry ſuitable to her own wiſdom, and the wiſhes of her ſubjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the ſame time ſummoned the convocation by her royal writ, *as in all times had been accuſtomed;* and ſoon after their meeting, ſent a moſt gracious letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to be communicated to the biſhop and clergy of his province; taking notice of "the looſe and profane princi-
"ples, which had been openly ſcattered and pro-
"pagated among her ſubjects: That the conſul-
"tations of the clergy were particularly requiſite
"to repreſs and prevent ſuch daring attempts,
"for which her ſubjects, from all parts of the
"kingdom, have ſhewn their juſt abhorrence:
"*She* hopes the endeavours of the clergy in this
"reſpect will not be unſucceſsful; and, for her
"part, is ready to give them all fit encourage-
"ment to proceed in the diſpatch of ſuch buſi-

"neſs

" neſs as properly belongs to them; and to grant " them powers requiſite to carry on ſo good a " work:" In concluſion, " earneſtly recommend- " ing to them to avoid diſputes; and determi- " ning to do all that in her lies to compoſe and " extinguiſh them."

It is to be hoped, that this laſt part of her Majeſty's letter will be the firſt ſhe will pleaſe to execute; for, it ſeems, this very letter created the firſt diſpute; the fact whereof is thus related: The Upper-houſe having formed an addreſs to the Queen, before they received her Majeſty's letter, ſent both addreſs and letter together to the Lower-houſe, with a meſſage excuſing their not mentioning the letter in the addreſs, becauſe *this* was formed before the *other* was received. The Lower-houſe returned them, with a deſire that an addreſs might be formed with due regard and acknowledgments for the letter. After ſome difficulties, the ſame addreſs was ſent down again, with a clauſe inſerted, making ſome ſhort mention of the ſaid letter. This the Lower-houſe did not think ſufficient, and ſent it back again with the ſame requeſt; whereupon the Archbiſhop, after a ſhort conſultation with *ſome* of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month: and no addreſs at all was ſent to the Queen.

I underſtand not eccleſiaſtical affairs well enough to comment upon this matter: but it ſeems to me, that all methods of doing ſervice to the church and kingdom, by means of a *convoca-*

tion, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy againſt ſuch an incident. And if this proceeding be agreeable to the inſtitution, *ſpiritual aſſemblies* muſt needs be ſtrangely contrived, very different from any *lay ſenate* yet known in the world. Surely, from the nature of ſuch a *ſynod*, it muſt be a very unhappy circumſtance, when the majority of the biſhops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time ſuſpected for any principles bordering upon thoſe profeſſed by enemies to Epiſcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the *preſent ſet* of biſhops, I doubt it will call *ſome things* to mind that may turn the ſcale of general favour on the inferior clergy's ſide; who, with a profound duty to her Majeſty, are perfectly pleaſed with the *preſent turn of affairs*. Beſides, *curious people* will be apt to inquire into the *dates of ſome promotions*; to call to mind what deſigns were then upon the anvil; and from thence make *malicious deductions*. Perhaps they will obſerve the manner of voting on the biſhops bench, and compare it with what ſhall paſs in the Upper-houſe of convocation.

There is however one comfort, that under the preſent diſpoſitions of the kingdom, a diſlike to the proceedings of any of their Lordſhips, even to the number of a *majority*, will be purely *perſonal*, and not turned to the diſadvantage of the *order*. And for my part, as I am a true lover of the church, I had rather find the inclinations of the people favourable to *Epiſcopacy* in general,

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than ſee a majority of prelates cried up by thoſe who are *known enemies* to the character. Nor indeed hath any thing given me more offence for ſeveral years paſt, than to obſerve, how *ſome* of that bench have been careſſed by *certain perſons*; and *others of* them openly celebrated by the infamous pens of atheiſts, republicans, and fanatics.

Time and *mortality* can only remedy theſe inconveniencies in the church, which are not to be cured, like thoſe in the ſtate, by a *change of miniſtry*. If we may gueſs the temper of a *convocation* from the choice of a *prolocutor*, as it is uſual to do that of a Houſe of Commons by the *ſpeaker*, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themſelves much reputation by pitching upon a *gentleman* of ſo much piety, wit, and learning, for that office, and one who is ſo thoroughly verſed in thoſe parts of knowledge which are proper for it. I am ſorry that the three Latin ſpeeches delivered upon preſenting the *prolocutor* were not made public; they might perhaps have given us ſome light into the diſpoſition of each Houſe: and beſides, one of them is ſaid to be ſo peculiar in the ſtyle and matter, as might have made up in *entertainment* what is wanted in *inſtruction*.

N° 22. Thurſday, January 4. 1710.

Nullæ ſunt occultiores inſidiæ, quam eæ, quæ latent in ſimulatione officii, aut in aliquo neceſſitudinis nomine.

The following anſwer is written in the true ſtyle, and with the uſual candour of ſuch pieces; which I have imitated to the beſt of my ſkill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely ſatisfied with it.

The EXAMINER croſs-examined; *or, A full anſwer to the laſt* EXAMINER.

IF I durſt be ſo bold with this author, I would gladly aſk him a familiar queſtion; *Pray, Sir, who made you an examiner?* He talks in one of his inſipid papers of *eight or nine thouſand corruptions*, while *we* were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he hath hardly produced fifty:

Parturiunt montes, &c. HOR.

But I ſhall confine myſelf at preſent to his laſt paper. He tells us, *the Queen began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church.* Here is *prieſtcraft* with a witneſs! This is the conſtant language of your *high-flyers*, to call thoſe who are *hired* to teach *the religion of the magiſtrate*, by the name of the *church.* But this is not all; for in the very next line he ſays, *It was hoped the nation would have followed this example.* You ſee the *faction* begins already to ſpeak out: This is an open demand for the abbay-land; this furious zealot would have us *prieſt-ridden* again, like our Popiſh anceſtors; but it is to be hoped the government

vernment will take timely care to ſuppreſs ſuch audacious attempts; elſe we have ſpent ſo much blood and treaſure to very little purpoſe in maintaining *religion* and the *Revolution*. But what can we expect from a man, who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade? *A country*, ſays he, *may flouriſh* (theſe are his own words) *without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages*. What! we muſt immediately baniſh, or murder the Palatines; forbid all foreign merchants not only the Exchange, but the kingdom; perſecute the diſſenters with fire and fagot; and make it high-treaſon to ſpeak any other tongue but Engliſh. In another place he talks of a *ſerpent* with *ſeven heads*, which is a manifeſt corruption of the text; for the words, *ſeven heads*, are not mentioned in that verſe. However, we know what *ſerpent* he would mean; a *ſerpent* with *fourteen legs*; or indeed no *ſerpent* at all, but ſeven great men, who were the *beſt miniſters*, the *trueſt Proteſtants*, and the moſt *diſintereſted patriots*, that ever ſerved a prince. But nothing is ſo inconſiſtent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a Whig or a Tory, a Proteſtant or a Papiſt; he finds fault with convocations; ſays, *they are aſſemblies ſtrangely contrived*; and yet lays the fault upon us, that *we bound their hands*: I wiſh we could have bound their *tongues* too. But, as far as their *hands* were bound, they could make a ſhift to hold their *pens*, and have their ſhare in the guilt of ruining the hopefulleſt party and miniſtry that ever *preſcri-*

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bed to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to *ſee a majority of prelates cried up by thoſe who are enemies to the character:* Now, I always thought, that the conceſſions of enemies were more to a man's advantage, than the praiſe of his friends, *Time and mortality*, he ſays, *can only remedy theſe inconveniencies in the church:* That is, in other words, when certain biſhops are dead, we ſhall have others of our own ſtamp. Not ſo faſt: you are not yet ſo ſure of your game. We have already got one *comfortable loſs* in Spain, although by a general of our own: For joy of which our junto had a merry meeting at the houſe of their great proſelyte, on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more ſuch *blows* would perhaps ſet us right again; and then we can employ mortality as well as others. He concludes with wiſhing, that *three letters, ſpoken when the prolocutor was preſented, were made public.* I ſuppoſe he would be content with *one;* and that is more than we ſhall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it poſſible to have *grace*, without either *eloquence* or *Latin;* which is all I ſhall ſay to this malicious *innuendo.*

Having thus, I hope, given *a full and ſatisfactory anſwer* to the Examiner's laſt paper, I ſhall now go on to a more important affair, which is to prove, by ſeveral undeniable inſtances, that the late miniſtry, and their abetters, were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confeſs, a ſecret to the clergy wherein this friendſhip did conſiſt.

conſiſt. For information, therefore, of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to diſplay our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wiſh, that what I am to ſay were to be written in braſs for an eternal memorial; the rather, becauſe for the future the church muſt endeavour to ſtand unſupported by thoſe patrons, who expired in doing it their *laſt good office*, and will never *riſe* to preſerve it any more.

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of theſe church-defenders, who were its patrons by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it by their exemplary lives.

Firſt, St Paul tells us, *there muſt be hereſies in the church, that the truth may be manifeſt;* and therefore, by due courſe of reaſoning, the more hereſies there are, the more manifeſt will the truth be made. This being maturely conſidered by theſe lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many hereſies as they could, that the light of the truth might ſhine the clearer.

Secondly, To ſhew their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it entirely out of the hands of *God Almighty* (becauſe that was a *foreign juriſdiction*) and made it their own *creature*, depending altogether upon them; and iſſued out their orders to Tindal, and others, to give public notice of it.

Thirdly, Becauſe *charity* is the moſt celebrated of all Chriſtian virtues, therefore they extended theirs

theirs beyond all bounds; and, inſtead of ſhutting the church againſt *diſſenters*, were ready to open it to all *comers*, and *break down its walls*, rather than that any ſhould want room to enter. The ſtrength of a ſtate, we know, conſiſteth in the number of people, how different ſoever in their callings, and why ſhould not the ſtrength of a church conſiſt in the ſame, how different ſoever in their *creeds*? For that reaſon they charitably attempted to aboliſh the *teſt*, which tied up ſo many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to us as a crime by ſeveral *malignant Tories*, and denied as a ſlander by many unthinking people among ourſelves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to aſk ſuch queſtions as theſe; "Was your teſt repealed? Had we not a majo-"rity? Might we not have done it, if we plea-"ſed?" To which the others anſwer, "You "did what you could: You prepared the way, "but you found a fatal impediment from that "quarter, whence the ſanction of the law muſt "come; and therefore, to ſave your credit, you "condemned a paper to be burnt, which your-"ſelves had brought in." But alas! the miſcarriage of that noble project for the ſafety of the church had another original; the knowledge whereof depends upon a piece of ſecret hiſtory, which I ſhall now lay open.

Theſe church-protectors had directed a *preſbyterian preacher* to draw up a bill for repealing the

teſt.

teſt. It was accordingly done with great art; and in the preamble, ſeveral expreſſions of civility to the *eſtabliſhed church*; and when it came to the qualifications of all thoſe who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken ſpecial care to make them large enough for all Chriſtians whatſoever, by tranſcribing the very words (only formed into an *oath*) which Quakers are obliged to profeſs by a former act of parliament; as I ſhall here ſet them down: "I *A. B.* profeſs faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, bleſſed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to be given by divine inſpiration." This bill was carried to the chief readers for their approbation, with theſe terrible words turned into an oath. What ſhould they do? Thoſe few among them, who fancied they believed in *God*, were ſure they did not believe in *Chriſt*, or the *Holy Spirit*, or one ſyllable of the *Bible*; and they were as ſure that every body knew their opinion in thoſe matters, which indeed they had been always too ſincere to diſguiſe; how therefore could they take ſuch an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clendon, and all the tribe of Free-thinkers, and ſo *give a ſcandal to weak unbelievers?* Upon this nice point of honour and conſcience the matter was huſhed, the project for repealing the *teſt* let fall,

fall, and the *ſacrament* left as the ſmaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, Theſe pillars of the church, becauſe *the harveſt was great, and the labourers few*, and becauſe they would eaſe the biſhops from that grievous trouble of *laying on hands*, were willing to allow that power to all men whatſoever, to prevent that terrible conſequence of *unchurching* thoſe who thought a hand from under a *cloak* as effectual as from *lawn-ſleeves*. And indeed what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general *naturalization for prieſthood?*

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, becauſe truth never appears ſo fair as when confronted with falſehood, they directed books to be publiſhed that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the *ſecond* and *third Perſon*, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the ſoul. To this we owe that great ſenſe of religion, that reſpect and kindneſs to the clergy, and that true love of virtue, ſo manifeſt of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could any thing be more diſcreet, than to leave the merits of each cauſe to ſuch wiſe, impartial judges; who might otherwiſe fall under the ſlavery of believing by *education* and *prejudice*.

Sixthly, Becauſe nothing ſo much diſtracts the thoughts, as too great variety of ſubjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to preſcribe the clergy what ſubjects they ſhould preach upon, and in what manner, that they might be at

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no loſs; and this no doubt was a proper work for ſuch hands, ſo thoroughly verſed in the theory and practice of all Chriſtian duties.

Seventhly, To ſave trouble and expence to the clergy, they contrived that *convocations* ſhould meet as ſeldom as poſſible; and, when they were ſuffered to aſſemble, would never allow them to meddle with any buſineſs; becauſe, *they ſaid*, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the *whole man*. For the ſame reaſon they were very deſirous to excuſe the biſhops from ſitting in parliament, that they might be at more leiſure to ſtay at home and look after the inferior clergy.

I ſhall mention at preſent but one more inſtance of their pious zeal for the church. They had ſomewhere heard the maxim, that *Sanguis martyrum eſt ſemen eccleſiæ*, therefore, in order to *ſow this ſeed*, they began with *impeaching a clergyman*: and that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumſtance, they proceeded as much as poſſible againſt common law; which the *long-robe part* of the *managers* knew was, in an hundred inſtances, directly contrary to all their poſitions, and *were ſufficiently warned of it before-hand*; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a ſudden; for a certain great perſon (whoſe character hath been lately publiſhed by ſome ſtupid and lying writer) who very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for forwarding this *impeachment*, had ſeveral years ago endeavoured to perſuade the late

King to give way to juſt ſuch another attempt. He told his Majeſty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous ſermons, and that the only way to put a ſtop to ſuch inſolence was to impeach him in parliament. The King inquired the character of the man: "Oh Sir," ſaid my Lord, "the moſt violent, hot, poſitive "fellow in England; ſo extremely wilful, that "I believe he would be heartily glad to be a martyr." The King anſwered, "Is it ſo? then I "am reſolved to diſappoint him;" and would never hear more of the matter; by which that hopeful project unhappily miſcarried.

I have hitherto confined myſelf to thoſe endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of *our* party; but, if my paper were not drawing towards an end, I could produce ſeveral inſtances of particular perſons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have comfirmed the character ſo juſtly due to the whole body. I ſhall at preſent mention only two, and illuſtrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

That worthy patriot and *true lover* of the church, whom a *late Examiner* is ſuppoſed to reflect on under the name of Verres, felt a pious impulſe to be a benefactor to the cathedral of Glouceſter; but how to do it in the moſt decent generous manner, was the queſtion. At laſt he thought of an expedient: One morning, or night, he ſtole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that, which in cleanly phraſe is call-

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ed *diſburthening of nature*. He was diſcovered, proſecuted, and condemned to pay a thouſand *pounds*; which ſum was all employed to *ſupport the church*, as no doubt the *benefactor* meant it.

There is another perſon, whom the ſame writer is thought to point at under the name of Will. Bigamy. This gentleman, knowing that marriage-fees were a conſiderable perquiſite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them *cent. per cent.* for the *good of the church*. His invention was to marry a ſecond wife, while the firſt was alive, convincing her of the lawfulneſs by ſuch arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the ſame example. Theſe he had drawn up in writing, with intention to publiſh for the *general good*: and it is hoped he may *now* have leiſure to finiſh them.

N° 23. Thurſday, January 11. 1710.

Bellum ita ſuſcipiatur, ut nihil aliud niſi pax quæſita videatur.

I AM ſatisfied, that no reaſonable man of either party can juſtly be offended at any thing I ſaid in one of my papers relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down, perhaps many perſons may conclude, that I had a mind the world ſhould think there had been occaſion given by ſome late abuſes among men of that calling; and they conclude right: for my intention is, that my hints may be underſtood, and

my quotations and allegories applied: and I am in ſome pain to think, that in the Orcades on one ſide, and the weſtern coaſts of Ireland on the other, the *Examiner* may want a *key* in ſeveral parts, which I wiſh I could furniſh them with. As to the French King, I am under no concern at all: I hear he hath left off reading my papers, and, by what he hath found in them, diſlikes our proceedings more than ever; and intends either to make great additions to his armies, or propoſe new terms for a peace. So falſe is that, which is commonly reported of his mighty ſatisfaction in our change of miniſtry. And I think it clear, that his late letter of thanks to the *Tories* of Great-Britain muſt either have been extorted from him againſt his judgment, or was a caſt of politics to ſet the people againſt the preſent miniſtry; wherein it hath *wonderfully* ſucceeded.

But though I have never heard, or never regarded any objections made againſt that paper, which mentions the army; yet I intended this as a ſort of apology for it. And firſt I declare, (becauſe we live in a miſtaken world) that in hinting at ſome proceedings, wherein a few perſons are ſaid to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much deteſted that barbarous injuſtice among the writers of a late party to be ever guilty of it myſelf; I mean the accuſing ſocieties for the crimes of a few. On the other ſide, I muſt take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions than other numbers of men.

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The maxims propoſed were occaſionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, becauſe I am ſure, conſidering what hath paſſed, it would be a crime to think otherwiſe. All poſts in the army, all employments at court, and many others, are, *or ought to be*, given and reſumed at the mere pleaſure of the prince; yet when I ſee a great officer broke, a change made in the court or the miniſtry, and this under the moſt juſt and gracious princeſs that ever reigned, I muſt naturally conclude it is done upon prudent conſiderations, and for ſome great demerit in the ſufferers. But then is not the puniſhment ſufficient? Is it generous or charitable to trample on the unfortunate, and expoſe their faults to the world in the ſtrongeſt colours? And would it not ſuit better with magnanimity, as well as common good nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without queſtion; provided it could be ſo contrived that their very names, as well as actions, might be forgotten for ever; ſuch an act of oblivion would be for the honour of our nation, and beget a better opinion of us with poſterity; and then I might have ſpared the world and myſelf the trouble of *examining*. But at preſent there is a cruel *dilemma* in the caſe; the friends and abettors of the late miniſtry are every day publiſhing their praiſes to the world, and caſting reflections upon the preſent perſons in power. This is ſo bare-faced an aſperſion upon the Queen, that I know not how any good

ſubject can with patience endure it, although he were ever ſo indifferent with regard to the opinions in diſpute. Shall they, who have loſt all power and love of the people, be allowed to ſcatter their poiſon; and ſhall not thoſe, who are at leaſt of the ſtrongeſt ſide, be ſuffered to bring an antidote? And how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them ſee, that theſe diſcarded ſtateſmen were juſtly laid aſide; and producing as many inſtances to prove it as we can, not from any perſonal hatred to them, but in juſtification of the beſt of Queens? The many ſcurrilities I have heard and read againſt this poor paper of mine, are in ſuch a ſtrain, that, conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, they look like a jeſt. They uſually run after the following manner: "What! ſhall this inſolent writer pre-
"ſume to cenſure the late miniſtry, the ableſt,
"the moſt faithful, and trueſt lovers of their
"country and its conſtitution, that ever ſerved a
"prince? Shall he reflect on the beſt Houſe of
"Commons, that ever ſat within thoſe walls?
"Hath not the Queen changed both for a mini-
"ſtry and parliament of *Jacobites* and *High-flyers*,
"who are ſelling us to France, and bringing
"over the *Pretender?*" This is the very ſum and force of all their reaſonings, and this is their method of complaining againſt the Examiner. In *them* it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the Queen, and the miniſtry and parliament ſhe hath choſen, with the univerſal applauſe of the people: In us it is inſolent to defend her Majeſty and her choice,

choice, or to anſwer their objections, by ſhewing the reaſons why thoſe changes were neceſſary.

The ſame ſtyle hath been uſed in the late caſe concerning ſome gentlemen in the army. Such a clamour was raiſed by a ſet of men, who had the boldneſs to tax the adminiſtration with cruelty and injuſtice, that I thought it neceſſary to interfere a little, by ſhewing the ill conſequences that might ariſe from ſome proceedings, although without application to particular perſons. And what do they offer in anſwer? Nothing but a few common places againſt *calumny* and *informers;* which might have been full as juſt and ſeaſonable in a plot againſt the ſacred perſon of the Queen.

But, by the way, why are theſe idle people ſo indiſcreet to name thoſe *two words* which afford occaſion of laying open to the world ſuch an infamous ſcene of *ſubornation* and *perjury*, as well as *calumny* and *informing*, as I believe is without example; when a whole *cabal* attempted an *action*, wherein a *condemned criminal* * refuſed to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I diſapprove their ſagacity, who could foretel ſo long before by what *hand* they ſhould one day fall, and therefore thought any means juſtifiable by which they might prevent it.

But waving this at preſent, it muſt be owned, in juſtice to the army, that thoſe violences did not proceed ſo far among them as ſome have believed; nor ought the madneſs of a *few* to be laid at their doors. For the reſt, I am ſo far

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from denying the due praiſes to thoſe brave troops who did their part in procuring ſo many victories for the *allies*, that I could wiſh every officer and private ſoldier had their full ſhare of honour in proportion to their deſerts; being thus far of the Athenians mind, who, when it was propoſed that the ſtatue of Miltiades ſhould be ſet up alone in ſome public place of the city, ſaid they would agree to it, *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late miniſtry before the preſent; or, if wiſhing alone could be of any uſe, for wiſhing their continuance, becauſe then they might be ſecure of the war's continuance too; whereas, ſince affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under ſome apprehenſions of a peace; which no army, eſpecially in the courſe of ſucceſs, was ever inclined to; and which all wiſe ſtates have in ſuch a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point, wherein the civil and military politics have always diſagreed: And for that reaſon, I affirmed it neceſſary, in all free governments, that the latter ſhould be abſolutely in ſubjection to the former; otherwiſe one of theſe two inconveniencies muſt ariſe, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the *civil* inſtitution into a *military*.

I am ready to allow all that hath been ſaid of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great ſucceſſes abroad; nor is it their fault that thoſe important victories

victories had no better conſequences at home, though it may be their *advantage*. War is their trade and buſineſs: To improve and cultivate the advantages of ſucceſs, is an affair of the cabinet; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakneſs or corruption, according to the uſual uncertainty of wars, may be of the moſt fatal conſequence to the nation. For pray, let me repreſent our condition in ſuch a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the conſequences I ſhall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years bleſt with a Queen, who, beſides all virtues that can enter into the compoſition of a private perſon, poſſeſſeth every regal quality that can contribute to make a people happy: Of great wiſdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counſellors; of much diſcernment in chuſing proper inſtruments, when ſhe follows her own judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that exceſs of goodneſs, which makes her judge of others by herſelf: Frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the public, which in proportion ſhe doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her ſubjects; but from her own nature generous and charitable to all who want or deſerve; and, in order to exerciſe thoſe virtues, denying herſelf all entertainments of expence, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at leaſt in Flanders, our arms have been crowned with perpetual ſucceſs in battles and ſieges; not to mention ſeveral fortunate actions in Spain. Theſe facts being thus

ſtated,

ſtated, which none can deny; it is natural to aſk, how we have improved ſuch advantages, and to what account they have turned; I ſhall uſe no diſcouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worſe by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the beſt phyſicians, before the caſe grows deſperate. But I would aſk whether France, or any other kingdom, would have made ſo little uſe of ſuch prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremeſt degree of folly and corruption: and where thoſe have lain, let the world judge. Inſtead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which hath been the perpetual maxim of all wiſe ſtates, it hath been reckoned factious and malignant even to expreſs our wiſhes for it; and ſuch a condition impoſed, as was never offered to any prince, who had an inch of ground to diſpute: *Quæ enim eſt conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi poteſt?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who ſat at home, and were called to conſult upon the good of the kingdom, to be ſo utterly averſe from putting an end to a long expenſive war, which the victorious, as well as conquered ſide, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the ſword; they had no ſhare in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power; that the Queen ſaw through their deſigns; that they

they had entirely loſt the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were againſt them; that they were deteſted by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other ſtocks, which would be neither formidable nor neceſſary when the war was at an end. For theſe reaſons they reſolved to diſappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party ſhould be ſo deeply rooted as to make it impoſſible to ſhake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters ſo faſt, as in a little time muſt have ruined the conſtitution, if the crown had not interpoſed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than ſuch dreadful conſequences of their power. And indeed if the former danger had been greater, than ſome hoped or feared, I ſee no difficulty in the choice, which was the ſame with his, who ſaid *he had rather be devoured by wolves than by rats.* I therefore ſtill inſiſt, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with, the army for concurring with the miniſtry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in thoſe who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the reſt, as love of power, or love of money, can make it. But, as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power, or when a corrupt miniſtry joins in giving it too great a ſcope, the conſequence can be nothing leſs than infallible ruin and ſlavery to a ſtate.

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After I had finiſhed this paper, the printer ſent me two ſmall pamphlets, called, *The management of the war;* written with ſome plauſibility, much artifice, and abundance of miſrepreſentations, as well as direct falſehoods in point of fact. Theſe I have thought worth *examining*, which I ſhall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

N° 24. Thurſday, January 18. 1710.

Parva momenta in ſpem metumque impellunt animos.

HOPES are natural to moſt men, eſpecially to ſanguine complections; and among the various changes that happen in the courſe of public affairs, they are ſeldom without ſome grounds. Even in deſperate caſes, where it is impoſſible they ſhould have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have ſome reſource, which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for ſeveral months paſt the condition of thoſe people, whom I am forced, for want of other phraſes, to call the *ruined party*. They have taken up ſince their fall ſome real, and ſome pretended hopes. When the Earl of Sunderland was diſcarded, they *hoped* her Majeſty would proceed no farther in the change of her miniſtry; and had the inſolence to miſrepreſent her words to foreign ſtates. They *hoped* no-body durſt adviſe the diſſolution of the parliament. When this was done, and further alterations made in court,

court, they *hoped*, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation. They likewiſe *hoped*, that we ſhould have ſome terrible loſs abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But of all their *hopes*, whether real or aſſumed, there is none more extraordinary than that, which they now would ſeem to place their whole confidence in, That this great turn of affairs was only occaſioned by a ſhort madneſs of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are open, and they grow cool and ſober enough to conſider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that ſome few of the deepeſt-ſighted among theſe reaſoners are well enough convinced, how vain all ſuch *hopes* muſt be: But for the reſt, the wiſeſt of them ſeem to have been very ill judges of the people's diſpoſitions; the want of which knowledge was a principal occaſion to haſten their ruin; for ſurely, had they ſuſpected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run againſt it by that *impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are ſo blind, as to imagine ſome comfort from this fantaſtical opinion, that the people of England are at preſent diſtracted, but will ſhortly come to their ſenſes again.

For the ſervice therefore of our adverſaries and friends, I ſhall briefly *examine* this point, by ſhewing what are the cauſes and ſymptoms of a peo-

ple's madneſs; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is Machiavel's obſervation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do ſeldom miſtake their true intereſts; and indeed they naturally love the conſtitution they are born under; never deſiring to change, but under great oppreſſions. However, they are to be deceived by ſeveral means. It hath often happened in Greece, and ſometimes in Rome, that thoſe very men, who have contributed to ſhake off a former tyranny, have, inſtead of reſtoring the old conſtitution, deluded the people into a worſe and more ignominious ſlavery. Beſides, all great changes have the ſame effect upon commonwealths, that thunder hath upon liquors, making the *dregs* fly up to the top; the loweſt plebeians riſe to the head of affairs, and there preſerve themſelves, by repreſenting the nobles, and other friends to the old government, as enemies to the public. The encouraging of new myſteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, hath likewiſe been a frequent topic to miſlead the people. And, not to mention more, the promoting falſe reports of dangers from abroad hath often ſerved to prevent them from fencing againſt real dangers at home. By theſe and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt adminiſtration, the madneſs of the people hath riſen to ſuch a height, as to break in pieces the whole frame of the beſt-inſti-

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tuted governments. But however ſuch great frenzies, being artificially raiſed, are a perfect force and conſtraint upon human nature; and under a wiſe ſteady prince will certainly decline of themſelves, ſettling like the ſea after a ſtorm; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern ſtory are full of inſtances to illuſtrate what I ſay.

In our own iſland we had a great example of a long madneſs in the people, kept up by a thouſand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the conſtitution was deſtroyed; yet the malignity being ſpent, and the humour exhauſted that ſerved to foment it, before the uſurpers could fix upon a new ſcheme, the people ſuddenly recovered, and peaceably reſtored the old conſtitution.

From what I have offered, it will be eaſy to decide, whether this late change in the diſpoſition of the people was a new madneſs, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I ſee how it can be proved, that ſuch a change had, in any circumſtance, the leaſt ſymptoms of madneſs, whether my deſcription of it be right, or no. It is agreed, that the trueſt way of judging the diſpoſition of the people in the choice of their repreſentatives is by computing the county-elections; and in theſe it is manifeſt, that five in ſix are entirely for the preſent meaſures; although the court was ſo far from interpoſing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other

methods uſed to influence elections. The free, unextorted addreſſes ſent ſome time before from every part of the kingdom, plainly ſhewed what ſort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, againſt the united intereſt of thoſe two great bodies, the Bank and Eaſt-India Company, was another convincing argument. Beſides, the *Whigs* themſelves have always confeſſed, that the bulk of landed men in England was generally of *Tories*. So that this change muſt be allowed to be according to the natural genius and diſpoſition of the people, whether it were juſt and reaſonable in itſelf, or no.

Notwithſtanding all which, you ſhall frequently hear the *partiſans* of the late men in power gravely and deciſively pronounce, that the preſent miniſtry cannot poſſibly ſtand. Now, they who affirm this, if they believe themſelves, muſt ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the *laſt* being ſo far eſtabliſhed and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honeſt men will be able to reſtore things to their former ſtate. Or elſe theſe reaſoners have been ſo miſled by twenty years miſmanagement, that they have forgot our conſtitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiſer; and by the choice they have made, ſhew they do underſtand our conſtitution, and would bring it back to the old form; which if the new miniſters take care to maintain, they will

will and ought to ſtand; otherwiſe they may fall like their predeceſſors. But I think, we may eaſily foreſee what a parliament, freely choſen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man ſhall be in any danger to loſe his *place* by the freedom of his *voice*.

But, who are thoſe advancers of this opinion, that the preſent miniſtry cannot hold? It muſt be either ſuch as are afraid to be called to an account, in caſe it ſhould hold; or thoſe who keep offices, from which others better qualified, were removed, and may reaſonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; ſince perhaps it will be neceſſary to make ſome changes, that the public buſineſs of the nation may go on: or laſtly, *ſtock-jobbers*, who induſtriouſly ſpread ſuch reports, that actions may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet theſe hopes, thus freely expreſſed, as they are more ſincere, ſo they are more ſupportable, than when they appear under the *diſguiſe* and pretence of *fears*. Some of theſe gentlemen are employed to ſhake their heads in proper companies; to doubt where all this will end; to be in mighty pain for the nation; to ſhew how impoſſible it is that the public credit can be ſupported; to pray that all may do well, in whatever hands; but very much to doubt, that the Pretender is at the bottom. I know not any thing ſo nearly reſembling this behaviour, as what I have often ſeen among the friends of a ſick man, whoſe intereſt it is that he ſhould die.

The phyſicians proteſt they ſee no danger; the ſymptoms are good, the medicines anſwer expectation; yet ſtill they are not to be comforted; they whiſper, he is a gone man, it is not poſſible he ſhould hold out; he hath perfect death in his face; they never liked his doctor. At laſt, the patient recovers, and their joy is as falſe as their grief.

I believe there is no man ſo ſanguine, who did not apprehend ſome ill conſequences from the late change; though not in any proportion to the good ones; but it is manifeſt, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Thoſe remedies that ſtir the humours in a diſeaſed body, are at firſt more painful than the malady itſelf; yet certain death is the conſequence of deferring them too long. Actions are fallen, and the loans are ſaid to come in ſlowly. But beſides that ſomething of this muſt have been, whether there had been any change, or no; beſides that the ſurpriſe of every change, for the better as well as the worſe, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reaſon, which is plain, and ſcandalous. When the late party was at the helm, thoſe who were called the *Tories* never put their reſentments in balance with the ſafety of the nation; but chearfully contributed to the common cauſe: Now the ſcene is changed, the fallen party ſeems to act from very different motives; they have *given the word*

word about; they will keep their money, and be paſſive; and in this point, ſtand upon the ſame foot with *Papiſts* and *Nonjurors*. What would have become of the public, if the preſent great majority had acted thus during the late adminiſtration, before the others were maſters of that wealth they have ſqueezed out of the landed men, and with the ſtrength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance?

Thus much I have thought fit to ſay, without pointing reflections upon any particular perſon, which I have hitherto but ſparingly done, and that only towards thoſe whoſe characters are too profligate, that the managing of them ſhould be of any conſequence. Beſides, as it is a talent I am not naturally fond of; ſo in the ſubjects I treat, it is generally needleſs. If I diſplay the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of groſs immorality and irreligion; thoſe who are the leaſt converſant in things, will eaſily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of ſuch, who charge me with this proceeding: It is notorious enough, that the writers of the other ſide were the firſt aggreſſors. Not to mention their ſcurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular perſons; how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives againſt the preſent miniſtry, with the firſt and laſt letters of their names to prevent miſtakes? It is good ſometimes to let theſe people ſee, that we neither want ſpirit nor materials to retaliate;

and

and therefore, in this point alone, I ſhall follow their example, whenever I find myſelf ſufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, ſhall be religiouſly true, founded either upon avowed facts, which none can deny, or ſuch as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being reſolved publicly to confeſs any miſtakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly deſire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers ſaid to be done in the cathederal of Glouceſter. A whole Hydra of errors in two words! For, as I am ſince informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of Glouceſter, but ſome other church of that dioceſe. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meaneſt hands, I ſhould certainly have anſwered it.

N° 25. Thurſday, January 25. 1710.

Διαλεξάμενοι τίνα συχῆ, τὸ μὴὲν σύμπιαν ἐπί τε τῆ δυναςείᾳ ϗ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν.

Summiſſa quadam voce collocuti ſunt, quorum ſumma erat de dominatione, ſibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis conjuratio.

NOT many days ago I obſerved a knot of diſcontented gentlemen, curſing the *Tories* to hell for their uncharitableneſs in affirming, that if the late miniſtry had continued to this time, we ſhould have neither *church* nor *monarchy*

narchy left. They are uſually ſo candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-houſe, or over a bottle, from ſome warm young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to ſay more than they believed, by ſome poſitions as abſurd and ridiculous of their own. And ſo it proved in this very inſtance: For, aſking one of theſe gentlemen, what it was that provoked thoſe he had been diſputing with, to advance ſuch a paradox; he aſſured me in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world, but that himſelf and ſome others of the company had made it appear, that the deſign of the preſent parliament and miniſtry was to bring in *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *Pretender*; which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *Whigs*: becauſe I defy our adverſaries to produce one ſingle reaſon for ſuſpecting ſuch deſigns in the perſons now at the helm; whereas I can, upon demand, produce twenty to ſhew, that ſome late men had ſtrong views towards a *commonwealth*, and the alteration of the *church*.

It is natural indeed, when a ſtorm is over, that hath only untiled our houſes and blown down ſome of our chimnies, to conſider what farther miſchiefs might have enſued, if it had laſted longer. However, in the preſent caſe, I am not of the opinion above mentioned. I believe the church and ſtate might have laſted *ſomewhat longer*, although the late enemies to both had done

their

their worſt. I can hardly conceive, how things would have been ſoon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make ſuch large and ſudden ſtrides, it muſt have come to blows; and, according to the computation, we have now reaſon to think a right one, I can partly gueſs what would have been the iſſue. Beſides, we are ſure the Queen would have interpoſed, before they came to extremities; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

But, inſtead of this queſtion, what would have been the conſequence, if the late miniſtry had continued? I will propoſe another, which will be more uſeful for us to conſider; and that is, *What we may reaſonably expect they will do, if ever they come into power again?* This, we know, is the deſign and endeavour of all thoſe ſcribbles which daily fly about in their favour; of all the falſe, inſolent, and ſcandalous libels againſt the preſent adminiſtration; and of all thoſe engines, ſet at work to ſink the *actions*, and blow up the public credit. As for thoſe who ſhew their inclinations by writing, there is one conſideration, which I wonder doth not ſometimes affect them: For how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleneſs and innocence of thoſe, who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an inſolent, pragmatical orator ſomewhere in Greece, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the ſtate, was anſwered by one, who had been very inſtrumental

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in recovering the liberty of the city, that "he "thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the "condition he always wiſhed them in, when "every man in that city might ſecurely ſay what "he pleaſed." I wiſh theſe gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their maſters uſed to give; how many meſſengers and warrants would have gone out againſt any, who durſt have opened their lips, or drawn their pens, againſt the perſons and proceedings of their *juntos* and *cabals?* How would their weekly writers have been calling out for *proſecution* and *puniſhment?* We remember, when a poor nick-name *, borrowed from an old play of Ben Johnſon, and mentioned in a ſermon without any particular application, was made uſe of as a motive to ſpur on an impeachment. But after all it muſt be confeſſed, they had reaſons to be thus ſevere, which their ſucceſſors have not: Their faults would never endure the light; and to have expoſed them ſooner would have raiſed the kingdom againſt the actors, before the proper time.

But to come to the ſubject I have now undertaken, which is to examine what the conſequences would be, upon ſuppoſition that the *Whigs* were now reſtored to their power. I already imagine the preſent free parliament diſſolved, and another of a different epithet met by the force of money and management. I read immediately

* Volpone was a nick-name given to Lord Treaſurer Godolphin.

diately a dozen or two ſtinging votes againſt the proceedings of the late miniſtry. The bill * now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birthright of an Engliſhman reduced again to the value of twelve pence. But to give the reader a ſtronger imagination of ſuch a ſcene, let me repreſent the deſigns of ſome men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for repealing the " *ſacramental teſt*.

" A petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, " Coward, and Toland, in behalf of themſelves " and many hundreds of their diſciples, ſome of " whom are members of this Honourable Houſe; " deſiring that leave may be given to bring in a " bill for qualifying *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, and *Socinians*, " to ſerve their country in any employment eccle- " ſiaſtical, civil, or military.

" *Ordered*,

" That leave be given to bring in a bill accord- " ing to the prayer of the ſaid petition; and that " Mr Lechmere † do prepare and bring in the " ſame.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for removing the " education of youth out of the hands of the " clergy.

" Another to forbid the clergy preaching cer- " tain

* A bill for a general naturalization.

† M Lechmere was one of the managers againſt Dr Sacheverel, and ſummed up the evidence. *Hawkeſ.*

" tain duties in religion; eſpecially *obedience to*
" *princes*.

" Another to take away the juriſdiction of bi-
" ſhops.

" Another for conſtituting a general *for life*;
" with inſtructions to the committee, that care
" may be taken to make the war laſt as long as
" the life of the ſaid general.

" A bill of attainder againſt James Duke of
" Ormond, John Duke of Buckingham, Lau-
" rence Earl of Rocheſter, Sir Simon Harcourt
" Knight, Robert Harley and William Shippen
" Eſquires, Abigail Maſham ſpinſter, and others,
" for high-treaſon againſt the *junto*.

" *Reſolved*,

" That Sarah Dutcheſs of Marlborough hath
" been a moſt dutiful, juſt, and grateful ſervant
" to her Majeſty.

" *Reſolved*,

" That to adviſe the diſſolution of a *Whig* par-
" liament, or the removal of a *Whig* miniſtry,
" was in order to bring in *Popery* and the *Pre-*
" *tender*; and that the ſaid advice was high-trea-
" ſon.

" *Reſolved*,

" That by the *original compact*, the govern-
" ment of this realm is by a *junto*, and a king
" or queen; but the *adminiſtration* ſolely in the
" *junto*.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for farther limit-
" ing the prerogative.

" *Ordered*,

" That it be a ſtanding order of this houſe, " that the merit of elections be not determined " by the number of voices, or right of electors, " but by weight; and that one *Whig* ſhall weigh " down ten *Tories*.

" A motion being made, and the queſtion be- " ing put, that when a *Whig* is detected of ma- " nifeſt bribery, and his competitor, being a *Tory*, " hath ten to one a majority, there ſhall be a " new election; it paſſed in the negative.

" *Reſolved*,

" That for a king or queen, of this realm, " to read, or examine, a paper brought them to " be ſigned by a *junto* miniſter, is arbitrary and " illegal, and a violation of the liberties of the " people."

Theſe, and the like reformations, would in all probability be the firſt-fruits of the *Whigs reſurrection*; and what ſtructures ſuch able artiſts might in a ſhort time build upon ſuch foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a *peace* cut off; the nation induſtriouſly involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but thoſe whoſe intereſt lay in ruining the conſtitution. I do not ſee, how the wiſeſt prince, under ſuch neceſſities, could be able to extricate himſelf. Then as to the *church*; the biſhops would by degrees be diſmiſſed, firſt from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at laſt

from

from their office; and the clergy, inſtead of their idle claim of *independency* on the ſtate, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what ſyſtem of future government was deſigned; whether it were already digeſted, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I ſhall not now *examine*. Only upon this occaſion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myſelf. There was a picture drawn ſome time ago, repreſenting five perſons as large as the life, ſitting in council together, like a *pentarchy*; a void ſpace was left for a ſixth, which was to have been the Queen, to whom they intended that honour: But her Majeſty having ſince fallen under their diſpleaſure, they have made a ſhift to croud in *two better friends* in her place, which makes it a complete *heptarchy* *. This piece is now in the country, reſerved until better times; and hangs in a hall among the pictures of Cromwell, Bradſhaw, Ireton, and ſome other predeceſſors.

I muſt now deſire leave to ſay ſomething to a gentleman, who hath been pleaſed to publiſh a diſcourſe againſt a paper of mine relating to the convocation. He promiſeth to *ſet me right without any undue reflections, or indecent language*. I ſuppoſe he means, in compariſon with others, who pretend to anſwer the *Examiner*. So far he is right; but if he thinks he hath behaved himſelf

* This heptarchy was the ſerpent with ſeven heads mentioned in N° 21, 22. *Hawkeſ.*

ſelf as becomes a candid antagoniſt, I believe he is miſtaken. He ſays in his title-page, my *repreſentations are unfair, and my reflections unjuſt:* And his concluſion is yet more ſevere; where he *doubts I and my friends are enraged againſt the Dutch, becauſe they preſerved us from Popery and arbitrary power at the Revolution; and ſince that time from being over-run by the exorbitant power of France, and becoming a prey to the Pretender?* Becauſe this author ſeems in general to write with an honeſt meaning, I would ſeriouſly put to him the queſtion, whether he thinks *I and my friends* are for *Popery, arbitrary power, France, and the Pretender?* I omit other inſtances of ſmaller moment, which however do not ſuit, in my opinion, with *due reflection, or decent language.* The fact relating to the *convocation* came from a good hand; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumſtance about it. My reflections were no more, than what might be obvious to any other gentleman, who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right, which this author gives us of a Lower-houſe of *convocation;* it is a very melancholy one, and to me ſeems utterly inconſiſtent with that of a body of men, whom he owns to have a *negative:* And therefore, ſince a great majority of the clergy differ from him in ſeveral points he advances, I ſhall rather chuſe to be of their opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole ſynod met in one houſe,* as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their biſhops; and therefore, whether this

treatment,

treatment, ſo extremely *de haut en bas*, ſince their excluſion, be ſuitable to primitive cuſtom, or primitive humility towards brethren, is not my buſineſs to inquire. One may allow the divine, or apoſtolic right of Epiſcopacy, and its great ſuperiority over preſbyters; and yet diſpute the methods of exerciſing the latter, which being of human inſtitution are ſubject to encroachments and uſurpations. I know every clergyman in a dioceſe hath a great deal of dependence upon his biſhop, and owes him canonical obedience: But I was apt to think, that when the whole repreſentatives of the clergy met in a ſynod, they were conſidered in another light; at leaſt ſince they are allowed to have a *negative*. If I am miſtaken, I deſire to be excuſed, as talking out of my trade; only there is one thing, wherein I entirely differ from this author: Since in the diſputes about privileges, *one ſide muſt recede*; where ſo very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the encroachments are not on the inferior clergy's ſide; and no man can blame them for inſiſting on the ſmall number that is left. There is one fact, wherein I muſt take occaſion to ſet this author right, that the perſon * who firſt moved the Queen to remit the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was an *eminent inſtrument in the late turn of affairs*; and as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the ſame favour granted for the clergy of *Ireland* †.

* Earl of Oxford, Lord Treaſurer.

† This was done by the author's ſolicitation. See his Letters to Archbiſhop King.

But I muſt beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controverſy; which would be of very little import to moſt readers, and only miſpend time, that I would gladly employ to better purpoſes. For where it is a man's buſineſs to entertain a whole roomfull, it is unmannerly to apply himſelf to a particular perſon, and turn his back upon the reſt of the company.

N° 26. Thurſday, February 1. 1710.

Ea autem eſt gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cujuſque, tum etiam multitudinis, teſtimonio comprobatur.

I AM thinking what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a *ruined cauſe*. I remember a *fanatic preacher*, who was inclined to come into the *church*, and take orders; but upon mature thoughts was diverted from that deſign, when he conſidered, that the collections of the *godly* were a much heartier and readier penny, than he could get by wrangling for tithes. He certainly had reaſon; and the two caſes are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a neceſſary perſon: You have little more to do than to carp and cavil at thoſe, who hold the pen on the other ſide; you are ſure to be celebrated and careſſed by all your party, to a man; you may affirm and deny what you pleaſe without truth or probability, ſince it is but

but loſs of time to contradict you. Beſides, *commiſeration* is often on your ſide; and you have a pretence to be thought honeſt and diſintereſted for adhering to friends in diſtreſs: after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a ſtrong fund of *merit* towards making your fortune. Then, you never fail to be well furniſhed with materials; every one bringing in his *quota;* and falſehood being naturally more plentiful than truth: not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power, and hugging yourſelf in a corner with mighty ſatisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwiſe with us, who engage as volunteers in the ſervice of a flouriſhing miniſtry, in full credit with the Queen, and beloved by the people; becauſe they have no ſiniſter ends or dangerous deſigns, but purſue with ſteadineſs and reſolution the true intereſt of both. Upon which account they little want, or deſire, our aſſiſtance; and we may write till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed either to a *place*, or a *penſion:* Beſides, we are refuſed the common *benefit of the party*, to have our works cried up of courſe; the readers of our ſide being as ungentle, and hard to pleaſe, as if we writ againſt them; and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The deſign of their labours, who write on the conquered ſide, is likewiſe of greater importance than *ours:* They are like cordials for dying men, which muſt be repeated;

peated; whereas ours are, in the ſcripture-phraſe, but *meat for babes*: at leaſt, all I can pretend is to undeceive the ignorant, and thoſe at a diſtance; but their taſk is to keep up the ſinking ſpirits of a whole party.

After ſuch reflections, I cannot be angry with thoſe gentlemen for perpetually writing againſt me: It furniſhes them largely with topics; and is, beſides, their proper buſineſs; neither is it affectation, or altogether *ſcorn*, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act ſuitable to our ſeveral provinces: Mine is, by laying open ſome corruptions in the late management, to ſet thoſe who are ignorant, right in their opinions of perſons and things: It is theirs to cover with *fig-leaves* all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their office to deny, and diſprove; and then let the world decide. If *I* were as *they*, my chief endeavour ſhould certainly be to batter down the *Examiner*; therefore I cannot but approve their deſign. Beſides, they have indeed another reaſon for barking inceſſantly at this paper: They have in their prints openly taxed a moſt ingenious perſon, as author of it; one who is in great, and very deſerved, reputation with the world, both on account of his poetical works, and his talents for public buſineſs. They were wiſe enough to conſider, what a ſanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadverſion of ſuch a pen; and therefore uſed

all

all the forms of provocation commonly practiſed by little obſcure pedants, who are fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the fame of an adverſary. So nice a taſte have theſe judicious critics in pretending to diſcover an author by his ſtyle, and manner of thinking! not to mention the juſtice and candour of exhauſting all the ſtale topics of ſcurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one who is entirely innocent, and whoſe greateſt fault perhaps is too much *gentleneſs* towards a party, from whoſe *leaders* he hath received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the eaſe and reputation of ſo deſerving a gentleman, hath at length forced me, much againſt my intereſt and inclination, to let theſe angry people know who is *not* the author of the *Examiner*. For I obſerved the opinion began to ſpread; and I choſe rather to ſacrifice the honour I received by it, than let injudicious people entitle him to a performance, that perhaps he might have reaſon to be aſhamed of: ſtill faithfully promiſing never to diſturb thoſe worthy advocates; but ſuffer them in quiet to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they or their party find any eaſe in it; as phyſicians ſay there is to people in torment, ſuch as men in the gout, or women in labour.

However, I muſt acknowledge myſelf indebted to them for one hint, which I ſhall now purſue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the late miniſtry, I have ſeen many papers filled

ed with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of thoſe who write the lives of famous men, where after their deaths immediately follow their characters. When I ſaw the poor virtues thus dealt at random, I thought the diſpoſers had flung their names, like *valentines*, into a *hat*, to be drawn, as fortune pleaſed, by the *junto* and their friends. Their Craſſus drew *liberality* and *gratitude*; Fulvia, *humanity* and *gentleneſs*; Clodius, *piety* and *juſtice*; Gracchus, *loyalty* to his prince; Cinna, *love of his country and conſtitution*; and ſo of the reſt. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often ſeen of late the whole ſet of diſcarded ſtateſmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings for thoſe very qualities, which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did theſe *heroes* put off and lock up their *virtues* when they came into employment? and have they now reſumed them ſince their diſmiſſions? If they wrote them, I am ſure it was *under* their *greatneſs*, and without ever once convincing the world of their *viſibility* or *influence*.

But why ſhould not the preſent miniſtry find a pen to praiſe them, as well as the laſt? This is what I ſhall now undertake; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deſerved ſo little. I have, *without being called*, ſerved them half a year in quality of *champion*; and, by help of the Queen, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them againſt a routed cabal of hated politicians with a dozen of ſcribblers at their head: yet, ſo far have

have they been from rewarding me ſuitable to my deſerts, that to this day they never ſo much as ſent to the *printer* to inquire who I was; although I have known a time and miniſtry, where a perſon of half my merit and conſideration would have had fifty *promiſes*; and, in the mean time, a *penſion* ſettled on him, whereof the *firſt quarter ſhould be honeſtly paid*. Therefore my reſentments ſhall ſo far prevail, that in praiſing thoſe who are now at the head of affairs, I ſhall at the ſame time take notice of their defects. Was any man more eminent in his profeſſion than the preſent Lord Keeper *, or more diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence and great abilities in the Houſe of Commons? and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great ſtation he now adorns? But then it muſt be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the ſpeculative, as well as practical part of *polygamy*; he knows not how to metamorphoſe a ſober man into a *lunatic*; he is no *free-thinker* in religion, nor hath courage to be *patron* of an atheiſtcal book, while he is guardian of the Queen's conſcience. Although after all, to ſpeak my private opinion, I cannot think theſe ſuch mighty objections to his character, as ſome would pretend.

The perſon who now preſides at the council † is deſcended from a great and honourable father, not

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Lord Harcourt, was made Lord Keeper upon the reſignation of Lord Chancellor Cowper. *Hawkſ.*

† Laurence Hyde, late Earl of Rocheſter, in the room of Lord Somers. *Hawkſ.*

not *from the dregs of the people;* he was at the head of the treaſury for ſome years, and rather choſe to enrich his prince than himſelf. In the height of favour and credit, he ſacrificed the greateſt employment in the kingdom to his *conſcience* and *honour;* he hath been always firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for ſupporting the prerogative of the crown, and preſerving the liberties of the people. But then his beſt friends muſt own, that he is neither *Deiſt* nor *Socinian;* he hath never converſed with Toland to open and enlarge his thoughts, and diſpel the prejudices of education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, *to ruin and impriſon the huſband, in order to keep the wife without diſturbance.*

The preſent Lord Steward * hath been always diſtinguiſhed for his wit and knowledge; is of conſummate wiſdom and experience in affairs; hath continued conſtant to the true intereſt of the nation, which he eſpouſed from the beginning; and is every way qualified to ſupport the dignity of his office: but, in point of *oratory*, muſt give place to his predeceſſor.

The Duke of Shrewſbury † was highly inſtrumental in bringing about the *Revolution*, in which ſervice he freely expoſed his life and fortune. He hath ever been the favourite of the nation, being poſſeſſed of all the amiable qualities that can

* The Duke of Buckingham and Normandy, in the room of the Duke of Devonſhire. *Hawkeſ.*

† Lord Chamberlain, in the room of the Marquis of Kent. *Hawkeſ.*

can accompliſh a great man; but in the agreeableneſs and fragrancy of his perſon, and the profoundneſs of his politics, muſt be allowed to fall very ſhort of ———.

Mr Harley * had the honour of being choſen ſpeaker ſucceſſively to three parliaments. He was the firſt of late years who ventured to reſtore the forgotten cuſtom of treating his prince with *duty* and *reſpect*; eaſy and diſengaged in private converſation, with ſuch a weight of affairs upon his ſhoulders; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity; and a deſpiſer of money; purſuing the true intereſt of his prince and country againſt all obſtacles; ſagacious to view into the remoteſt conſequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable enemy; ſacrificing his juſteſt reſentments, not only to public good, but to common interceſſion and acknowledgment. Yet with all theſe virtues, it muſt be granted there is ſome mixture of human infirmity. His greateſt admirers muſt confeſs his ſkill at *cards* and *dice* to be very low and ſuperficial; in *horſe-racing* he is utterly ignorant; then, to ſave a few millions to the public, he never regards how many worthy *citizens* he hinders from making up their plumb †. And ſurely there is one thing never to be forgi-

* Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the removal of Lord Godolphin. *Hawkeſ.*

† A cant-word in England for 100,000 l.

ven him, that he delights to have his table filled with *black coats*, whom he uſeth as if they were *gentlemen*.

My Lord Dartmouth * is a man of letters, full of good ſenſe, good-nature, and honour; of ſtrict virtue and regularity in his life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners than others in his ſtation have done the Queen.

Omitting ſome others, I ſhall cloſe this character of the preſent *miniſtry* with that of Mr St John †, who, from his youth, applying thoſe admirable talents of nature, and improvements of art to public buſineſs, grew eminent in court and parliament, at an age when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himſelf a *buſy, important countenance;* nor learned that profound part of wiſdom, to be *difficult of acceſs*. Beſides, he hath clearly miſtaken the true uſe of *books*, which he hath thumbed, and ſpoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his ſhelves: Not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back better than a friend by the face; although he had never converſed with the former, and often with the latter.

* He ſucceeded the Earl of Sunderland as Secretary of State. *Hawkſ.*

† Secretary of State, in the room of Mr Henry Boyle. He was afterwards created Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke.

N° 27. Thurſday, February 8. 1710.

Caput eſt in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima ſuſpicio.

THERE is no vice which mankind carries to ſuch wild extremes as that of *avarice*. Thoſe two, which ſeem to rival it in this point, are luſt and ambition; but the former is checked by difficulties and diſeaſes, deſtroys itſelf by its own purſuits, and uſually declines with old age; and the latter, requiring courage, conduct, and fortune, in a higher degree, and meeting with a thouſand dangers and oppoſitions, ſucceeds too ſeldom in an age to fall under common obſervation. Or, avarice is perhaps the ſame paſſion with ambition, only placed in more ignoble and daſtardly minds, by which the object is changed from *power* to *money*. Or it may be that one man purſues power in order to wealth, and another wealth in order to power; which laſt is the ſafer way, although longer about; and ſuiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this paſſion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree ſo abſurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The *ſtage*, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very ſhort in the repreſentations of *ava-*

rice; nor are there any extravagancies in this kind deſcribed by ancient or modern comedies, which are not outdone by an hundred inſtances, commonly told among ourſelves.

I am ready to conclude from hence, that a vice, which keeps ſo firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with ſo unlimited a tyranny, ſince it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought at leaſt to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never ſuffered to prey upon the public; and ſhould certainly be rejected as the moſt unqualifying circumſtance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can poſſibly enter.

If the miſchief of this vice in a public ſtation were confined to enriching only thoſe particular perſons employed, the evil would be more ſupportable; but it is uſually quite otherwiſe. When a *ſteward* defrauds his *lord*, he muſt connive at the *reſt of the ſervants*, while they are following the ſame practice in their ſeveral ſpheres; ſo that in ſome families you may obſerve a ſubordination of knaves in a link downwards to the very *helper* in the ſtables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the maſter could bear it without being undone; but it ſo happens, that for every ſhilling the ſervant gets by his iniquity, the maſter loſeth twenty; the perquiſites of ſervants being but ſmall compoſitions for ſuffering ſhop-keepers to bring in what bills they pleaſe. It is exactly the ſame thing in a ſtate: An avaricious man

in

in office is in confederacy with the whole *clan* of his diſtrict or dependence; which, in modern terms of art, is called *to live and let live*; and yet *their* gains are the ſmalleſt part of the public's loſs. Give a guinea to a knaviſh *land-waiter*, and he ſhall connive at the merchant for cheating the Queen of an hundred. A *brewer* gives a bribe to have the privilege of ſelling drink to the navy; but the fraud is an hundred times greater than the bribe, and the public is at the whole loſs.

Moraliſts make two kinds of avarice: That of Catiline, *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*; and the other more generally underſtood by that name, which is the endleſs deſire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a ſtate, becauſe it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for although the ſame breaſt may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not, in my opinion, much to be apprehended from ambition. The diſgrace of that ſordid vice is ſooner apt to ſpread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and ſcorn of the people; ſo that whenever thoſe two paſſions happen to meet in the ſame ſubject, it is not unlikely that Providence hath placed *avarice* to be a check upon *ambition*; and I have reaſon to think *ſome great miniſters of ſtate* have been of my opinion.

The divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philoſophers, the laſhes and ridicule of ſatyrical poets, have been all employed in explo-

ding this inſatiable thirſt of money; and all equally controuled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing now remains to be ſaid upon the occaſion; and if there did, I muſt remember my character, that I am an *examiner* only, and not a *reformer*.

However, in thoſe caſes where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, ſuch as a prime miniſter of ſtate, or a great general of an army; methinks there ſhould be ſome expedient contrived to let them know impartially, what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompaſſed with a croud of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuſe. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly loſt, or returned with hatred: and whatever appears in public againſt their prevailing vice, goes for nothing; being either not applied, or paſſing only for libel and ſlander, proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have ſometimes thought, that if I had lived at Rome in the time of the firſt *Triumvirate*, I ſhould have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to thoſe three great men, who had then uſurped the ſovereign power; wherein I would freely and ſincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was moſt odious, and of worſt conſequence to the commonwealth. That to Craſſus ſhould have been ſent

to

to him after his conqueſts in Meſopotamia, and in the following terms.

" To MARCUS CRASSUS, health.

" IF you apply, as you ought, what I now " write, you will be more obliged to me " than to all the world, hardly excepting your " parents, or your country. I intend to tell you, " without diſguiſe or prejudice, the opinion " which the world hath entertained of you; and " to let you ſee I write this without any ſort of " ill-will, you ſhall firſt hear the ſentiments they " have to your advantage. No man diſputes the " gracefulneſs of your perſon; you are allowed " to have a good and clear underſtanding, culti- " vated by the knowledge of men and manners, " although not by *literature*; you are no ill ora- " tor in the ſenate; you are ſaid to excel in the " art of bridling and ſubduing your anger, and " ſtifling or concealing your reſentments; you " have been a moſt ſucceſsful general, of long " experience, great conduct, and much perſonal " courage; you have gained many important " victories for the commonwealth, and forced " the ſtrongeſt towns in Meſopotamia to ſurren- " der, for which frequent *ſupplications* have been " decreed by the ſenate. Yet with all theſe qua- " lities, and this merit, give me leave to ſay, " you are neither beloved by the *patricians* nor " *plebeians* at home, nor by the officers or private " ſoldiers of your own army abroad. And do

" you

" you know, Craſſus, that this is owing to a fault,
" of which you may cure yourſelf by one minute's
" reflection? What ſhall I ſay? You are the
" richeſt perſon in the commonwealth; you
" have no male-child; your daughters are all
" married to wealthy *patricians*; you are far in
" the decline of life, and yet you are deeply
" ſtained with that odious and ignoble vice of
" *covetouſneſs*. It is affirmed, that you deſcend
" even to the meaneſt and moſt ſcandalous de-
" grees of it; and while you poſſeſs ſo many
" millions, while you are daily acquiring ſo many
" more, you are ſolicitous how to ſave a ſingle
" *ſeſterce*; of which an hundred ignominious in-
" ſtances are produced, and in all mens mouths.
" I will only mention that paſſage of the *buſkins* *,
" which, after abundance of perſuaſion, you
" would hardly ſuffer to be cut from your legs,
" when they were ſo wet and cold, that to have
" kept them on would have endangered your life.
" Inſtead of uſing the common arguments,
" to diſſuade you from this weakneſs, I will en-
" deavour to convince you, that you are really
" guilty of it; and leave the cure to your own
" good ſenſe. For perhaps you are not yet per-
" ſuaded that this is your crime; you have pro-
" bably never yet been reproached for it to your
" face; and what you are now told comes from
" one unknown, and it may be from an enemy.
" You will allow yourſelf indeed to be prudent
" in the management of your fortune; you are
" not

* Wet ſtockings.

" not a prodigal, like Clodius or Catiline; but " ſurely that deſerves not the name of *avarice*. I " will inform you how to be convinced. Diſ- " guiſe your perſon, go among the common peo- " ple in Rome, introduce diſcourſes about your- " ſelf, inquire your own character: Do the " ſame in your camp; walk about in the even- " ing, hearken at every tent; and if you do not " hear every mouth cenſuring, lamenting, cur- " ſing this vice in you, and even you for this " vice, conclude yourſelf innocent. If you be " not yet perſuaded, ſend for Atticus, Servius " Sulpicius, Cato, or Brutus; they are all your " friends, conjure them to tell you ingenuouſly, " which is your great fault, and which they would " chiefly wiſh you to correct; if they do not a- " gree in their verdict, *in the name of all the gods*, " you are acquitted.

" When your adverſaries reflect how far you " are gone in this vice, they are tempted to talk " as if we owed our ſucceſſes not to your courage " and conduct, but to thoſe *veteran* troops you " command; who are able to conquer under any " general, with ſo many brave and experienced " officers to lead them. Beſides, we know the " conſequences your avarice hath often occaſion- " ed. The ſoldier hath been ſtarving for bread, " ſurrounded with plenty, and in an enemy's " country; but all under *ſafeguards* and *contribu-* " *tions*; which, if you had ſometimes pleaſed to " have exchanged for *proviſions*, might, at the ex-

" pence

" pence of a few talents in a campaign, have ſo
" endeared you to the army, that they would have
" deſired you to lead them to the utmoſt limits
" of Aſia. But you rather choſe to confine your
" conqueſts within the fruitful country of Me-
" ſopotamia, where plenty of money might be
" raiſed. How far that fatal greedineſs of gold
" may have influenced you in breaking off the
" treaty with the old Parthian King Orodes, you
" beſt can tell: Your enemies charge you with it;
" your friends offer nothing material in your de-
" fence; and all agree there is nothing ſo per-
" nicious, which the extremes of avarice may
" not be able to inſpire.

" The moment you quit this vice, you will be
" a truly great man; and ſtill there will imper-
" fections enough remain to convince us you are
" not a *god*. Farewel."

Perhaps a letter of this nature, ſent to ſo rea-nable a man as Craſſus, might have put him upon *examining* into himſelf, and correcting that little ſordid appetite, ſo utterly inconſiſtent with all pretences to *heroiſm*. A youth in the heat of blood may plead, with ſome ſhew of reaſon, that he is not able to ſubdue his luſts. An ambitious man may uſe the ſame arguments for his love of power, or perhaps other arguments to juſtify it. But exceſs of avarice hath neither of theſe pleas to offer; it is not to be juſtified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuſe. Whence can the temptation come? Reaſon diſclaims it altogether;

ther; and it cannot be ſaid to lodge in the *blood* or *animal ſpirits*. So that I conclude, *no man of true valour, and true underſtanding, upon whom this vice hath ſtolen unawares, when he is convinced he is guilty, will ſuffer it to remain in his breaſt an hour.*

No 28. Thurſday, February 15. 1710.

Inultus ut tu riſeris Cotyttia?

An anſwer to the Letter to the EXAMINER.

SIR, *London, Feb.* 15. 1710-11.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted leiſure to acknowledge the honour of a letter you was pleaſed to write to me about ſix months ago, yet I have been very careful in obeying ſome of your commands, and am going on as faſt as I can with the reſt. I wiſh you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the *printing-houſe*; for altho' I was pleaſed with the pattern of ſtyle and ſpirit, which I propoſed to imitate, yet I was ſorry the world ſhould be a witneſs how far I fell ſhort in both.

I am afraid you did not conſider what an abundance of work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the promiſe you are ſo kind to make, that when "I have per-"formed my taſk, D—n ſhall bluſh in his grave "among the dead, Walpole among the living, "and even Volpone ſhall feel ſome remorſe."

How

How the gentleman in his grave may have kept his countenance, I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the ſexton: but for the *other two*, I take leave to aſſure you, there have not yet appeared the leaſt ſigns of *bluſhing* or *remorſe* in either, although *ſome very good opportunities* have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them: So that, with your permiſſion, I had rather engage to continue this work until *they* be *in their graves* too; which I am ſure will happen much ſooner than the other.

You deſire I would collect *ſome of thoſe indignities offered laſt year to her Majeſty*. I am ready to oblige you; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publiſh by itſelf in a *large volume in folio*, or ſcatter them here and there occaſionally in my papers. Although indeed I am ſometimes thinking to ſtifle them altogether; becauſe ſuch a hiſtory will be apt to give foreigners a monſtrous opinion of our country. But ſince it is your abſolute opinion that the world ſhould be informed, I will, with the firſt occaſion, pick out a few *choice inſtances*, and let them take their chance in the enſuing papers. I have likewiſe in my cabinet certain quires of paper filled with the facts of corruption, miſmanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like; with an alphabetical table, to ſave trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be ſo well provided, when you conſider the vaſt expence I am at. I feed weekly two or three *wit-*

ſtarved

ſtarved writers, who have no other viſible ſupport, beſides ſeveral others, who live upon my off-fals. In ſhort, I am like a nurſe, who ſuckles twins at one time, and hath beſides *one or two whelps* conſtantly to draw her breaſts.

I muſt needs confeſs (and it is with grief I ſpeak it) that I have been the innocent cauſe of a great circulation of dulneſs: At the ſame time I have often wondered how it hath come to paſs, that theſe induſtrious people, after poring ſo conſtantly upon the *Examiner*, a paper writ with plain ſenſe, and in a tolerable ſtyle, have made ſo little improvement. I am ſure it would have fallen out quite otherwiſe with me; for, by what I have ſeen of their performances, (and I am credibly informed they are all of a piece) if I had peruſed them until now, I ſhould have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the ſame cauſe.

You, Sir, perhaps will wonder, as moſt others do, what end theſe angry folks propoſe in writing perpetually againſt the *Examiner*: It is not to beget a better opinion of the late miniſtry, or with any hope to convince the world that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate; they know all that to be loſt labour, and yet their deſign is important enough: They would fain provoke me, by all ſorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to anſwer their paper; which would render mine wholly uſeleſs to the public: for if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we

ſhould be all upon a level; and then their work would be done.

There is one gentleman * indeed, who hath written three ſmall pamphlets upon the *management of the war*, and *the treaty of peace*. Theſe I had intended to have beſtowed a paper in *examining*; and could eaſily have made it appear, that whatever he ſays of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controuls one ſyllable of what I have ever advanced. No-body, that I know of, did ever diſpute the Duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or ſucceſs; they have been always unqueſtionable, and will continue to be ſo in ſpite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the *weakneſs of his advocates*. The nation only wiſhes to ſee him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late miniſtry, the ſhameful miſmanagements in Spain, or the wrong ſteps in the treaty of peace; the ſecret of which will not bear the light, and is conſequently, by this author, very poorly defended? Theſe, and many other things, I would have ſhewn; but upon ſecond thoughts, determined to have it done in a diſcourſe by itſelf, rather than take up room here, and break into the deſign of this paper, from whence I have reſolved to baniſh controverſy as much as poſſible. But the poſtſcript to his third pamphlet was enough to diſguſt me from having any dealings at all with ſuch a writer; unleſs that part was left to ſome *footman*

* Dr Hare, afterwards biſhop of Chicheſter.

footman he hath picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whoſe character it would ſuit much better than that of the ſuppoſed author; at leaſt the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the groſs perverting of an innocent expreſſion in the fourth *Examiner*, joined to that reſpect I ſhall ever have for the function of a *divine*, would incline me to believe ſo. But when he turns off his *footman*, and diſclaims that poſtſcript, I will tear it out, and ſee how far the reſt deſerves to be conſidered.

But, Sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I ſhould be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one ſide by the *Whigs*, for being too *ſevere*; and by the *Tories* on the other, for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this: but having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better repreſent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men on both ſides have of my conduct, than to ſend you a tranſcript of each. The former is exactly in theſe words:

"To the EXAMINER.

"Mr. EXAMINER,

"BY your continual reflecting upon the con-
"duct of the late miniſtry, and by your enco-
"miums on the preſent, it is *as clear as the ſun*
"*at noon-day*, that you are a *Jeſuit*, or *Nonjuror*,
"employed by the friends of the *Pretender* to en-

" deavour to introduce *Popery*, and *ſlavery*, and *ar-*
" *bitrary power*, and to infringe the *ſacred* act for
" *toleration of diſſenters*. Now, Sir, ſince *the moſt in-*
" *genious authors*, who write weekly againſt you,
" are not able to teach you better manners, I
" would have you to know, that thoſe great and
" excellent men, as low as you think them at pre-
" ſent, do not want friends that will take the
" firſt proper occaſion to *cut your throat*, as all
" ſuch enemies to moderation ought to be ſerved.
" It is well you have cleared another perſon from
" being author of your curſed libels; although,
" d—m me, perhaps after all, that may be a
" *bamboozle* too. However, I hope we ſhall ſoon
" ferret you out. Therefore I adviſe you as a
" friend to let fall your pen, and retire betimes;
" for our patience is now at an end. It is e-
" nough to loſe our power and employments,
" without ſetting the whole nation againſt us.
" Conſider three years is the life of a *party;* d—m
" me, *every dog hath his day*, and it will be our
" turn next: therefore take warning, and learn to
" *ſleep in a whole ſkin;* or whenever we are up-
" permoſt, by G—d you ſhall find no mercy."

The other letter was in the following terms:

" To the EXAMINER.

" SIR,

" I AM a *country member*, and conſtantly ſend
" a dozen of your papers down to my *electors*. I
" have

" have read them all, but, I confeſs, not with the " ſatisfaction I expected. It is plain you know " a great deal more than you write: Why will " you not let us have it all out? We are told, that " the Queen hath been a long time treated with " inſolence by thoſe ſhe hath moſt obliged. Pray, " Sir, let us have a few good ſtories upon that " head. We have been cheated of ſeveral mil- " lions; why will not you ſet a mark on the " knaves who are guilty, and ſhew us what ways " they took to rob the public at ſuch a rate? In- " form us, how we came to be diſappointed of " peace about two years ago. In ſhort, turn the " whole myſtery of iniquity inſide out, that every " body may have a view of it. But above all, " explain to us what was the bottom of that " ſame *impeachment*: I am ſure I never liked it; " for at that very time a *diſſenting* preacher in " our neighbourhood came often to ſee our par- " ſon; it could be for no good, for he would " walk about the barns and the ſtables, and de- " ſired to look into the church, as *who ſhould ſay*, " *Theſe will ſhortly be mine*: And we all belie- " ved he was then contriving ſome alterations, " againſt he got into poſſeſſion. And I ſhall ne- " ver forget that a *Whig juſtice* offered me then " very high for my biſhop's leaſe. I muſt be ſo " bold to tell you, Sir, that you are too favour- " able: I am ſure there was no living in quiet " for us, while they were in the *ſaddle*. I was " turned out of the commiſſion, and called a " *Jacobite*, although it coſt me a thouſand pounds

" in joining with the Prince of Orange at the " *Revolution.* The diſcoveries I would have you " make, are of ſome facts, for which they ought " to be hanged; not that I value their heads, but " I would ſee them expoſed, which may be done " upon the *owner's ſhoulders* as well as upon a " *pole*," &c.

Theſe, Sir, are the ſentiments of a whole party on one ſide, and of conſiderable numbers on the other: However, taking the *medium* between theſe extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done, although I am ſenſible my paper would be more popular, if I did not lean too much to the favourable ſide. For nothing delights the people more, than to ſee their oppreſſors humbled, and all their actions painted with proper colours, ſet out in open view, *Exactos tyrannos denſum humeris bibit aure vulgus.*

But as for the *Whigs*, I am in ſome doubt, whether this mighty concern they ſhew for the honour of the late miniſtry, may not be affected; at leaſt whether their maſters will thank them for their zeal in ſuch a cauſe. It is, I think, a known ſtory of a gentleman, who fought another for calling him *ſon of a whore*; that the lady deſired her ſon to make no quarrels upon that ſubject, *becauſe it was true.* For pray, Sir, doth it not look like a jeſt, that ſuch a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and diſcovering the moſt deſtructive deſigns againſt our church and ſtate, inſtead of thanking fortune that they are

got

got off ſafe in their perſons and plunder, ſhould hire theſe bullies of the pen to defend their reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardeſt caſe in the world, when a poor acquaintance of mine having fallen in among ſharpers, where he loſt all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain *for offering to affront gentlemen.* I believe the only reaſon why theſe purloiners of the public, cauſe ſuch a clutter to be made about their reputations, is to prevent inquiſitions that might tend towards making them refund: Like thoſe women they call *ſhop-lifters*, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted for fear of being ſearched.

I will diſmiſs you, Sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have obſerved, in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the Earl of Rocheſter is frequently reflected on for having been Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, and Lord Treaſurer, in the reign of the late K. James. The fact is true; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that becauſe he could not comply with the meaſures then taking, he reſigned both thoſe employments; of which the latter was immediately ſupplied by a commiſſion, compoſed of two Popiſh Lords, and the preſent Earl of Godolphin.

N° 29. Thurſday, February 22. 1710.

Laus ſumma in fortunæ bonis, non extuliſſe ſe in poteſtate, non fuiſſe inſolentem in pecunia, non ſe prætuliſſe aliis propter abundantiam fortunæ.

I AM conſcious to myſelf, that I write this paper with no other intention but that of doing good. I never received injury from the late miniſtry, nor advantage from the preſent, farther than in common with every good ſubject. There were among the former one or two, who muſt be allowed to have poſſeſſed very valuable qualities; but proceeding by a ſyſtem of politics which our conſtitution could not ſuffer, and diſcovering a contempt of all religion, eſpecially of that which hath been ſo happily eſtabliſhed among us ever ſince the Reformation; they ſeem to have been juſtly ſuſpected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is poſſible that a man may ſpeculatively prefer the conſtitution of another country, or an Utopia of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet, from conſidering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impoſſibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preſerving the preſent order of things, and be a true friend to the government already ſettled. So, in religion, a man may perhaps have little or none of it at heart; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he

he endeavours to make no proſelytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or diſcourſes; if, according to the common atheiſtical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe; and that the preſent model is better adjuſted than any other to ſo uſeful an end; although the condition of ſuch a man, as to his own future ſtate, be very deplorable; yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even ſuch a man an inſtrument for contributing towards the preſervation of the church.

On the other ſide, I take a ſtate to be truly in danger both as to its religion and government, when a ſet of ambitious politicians, bred up in a hatred to the conſtitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting theſe qualities in order to keep or increaſe their power, by widening their bottom, and taking in, like Mahomet, ſome principles from every party that is in any way diſcontented at the preſent faith and ſettlement; which was manifeſtly our caſe. Upon this occaſion, I remember to have aſked ſome conſiderable *Whigs*, whether it did not bring a diſreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of Preſbyterians, Independents, Atheiſts, Anabaptiſts, Deiſts, Quakers, and Socinians, openly and univerſally liſted under their banners? They anſwered, that all this was abſolutely neceſſary in order to make a balance againſt the *Tories*; and all little enough: For indeed, it was as much as they could poſſibly do, although

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aſſiſted with the abſolute power of diſpoſing every employment; while the bulk of the Engliſh gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and ſtate.

But notwithſtanding what I have hitherto ſaid, I am informed, ſeveral among the *Whigs* continue ſtill ſo refractory, that they will hardly allow the heads of their party to have entertained any deſigns of ruining the conſtitution, or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have diſcovered a ſecret; but who could imagine they ever intended it ſhould be one after thoſe *overt acts*, with which they thought fit to conclude their *farce?* But perhaps they *now* find it convenient to deny vigorouſly, that the queſtion may remain, *Why was the old miniſtry changed?* which they urge *on* without ceaſing, as if no occaſion in the leaſt had been given; but that all were owing to the inſinuations of crafty men, practiſing upon the weakneſs of an eaſy prince: I ſhall therefore offer, among an hundred, one reaſon for this change, which I think would juſtify any monarch, who ever reigned, for the like proceeding.

It is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed in the hiſtories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their *minions*, who have been ever juſtly odious to the people for their inſolence and avarice, and engroſſing the favours of their maſters. Whoever hath been the leaſt converſant in the

Engliſh

Engliſh ſtory, cannot but have heard of Gaveſton, the Spencers, and ſome others; who, by the exceſs and abuſe of their power, coſt the princes they ſerved, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the caſe of *minions*, it muſt at leaſt be acknowledged, that the prince is pleaſed and happy, although his ſubjects be aggrieved; and he has the plea of friendſhip to excuſe him, which is a diſpoſition of generous minds. Beſides, a wiſe *minion*, although he be haughty to others, is humble and inſinuating to his maſter, and cultivates his favour by obedience and reſpect. But *our* misfortune hath been a great deal worſe; we have ſuffered for ſome years under the oppreſſion, the avarice, and inſolence of thoſe, for whom the Queen had neither eſteem nor friendſhip; who rather ſeemed to ſnatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their ſovereign; and were ſo far from returning reſpect, that they forgot common good manners. They impoſed on their prince, by urging the *neceſſity of affairs* of their own creating: They firſt raiſed difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themſelves in power. They united themſelves, againſt nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full poſſeſſion of the court: Then they urged the formidable ſtrength of that party, and the dangers which muſt follow by diſobliging it. So that it ſeems almoſt a miracle, how

how a princeſs, thus beſieged on all ſides, could *alone* have courage and prudence enough to extricate herſelf.

And indeed there is a point of hiſtory relating to this matter, which well deſerveth to be conſidered. When her Majeſty came to the crown, ſhe took into favour and employment ſeveral perſons, who were eſteemed the beſt friends of the old conſtitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the *high-church* principles (as they are uſually called) than two or three who had at that time moſt credit; and ever ſince, until within theſe few months, poſſeſſed all power at court. So that the firſt umbrage given to the *Whigs*, and the pretences for clamouring againſt France and the Pretender, were derived from them. And I believe nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that ſuch different opinions ſhould ever incorporate; that party having upon former occaſions treated thoſe very perſons with enmity enough. But ſome Lords then about court, and in the Queen's good graces, not able to endure thoſe growing impoſitions upon the prince and people, preſumed to interpoſe; and were conſequently ſoon removed and diſgraced. However, when a moſt exorbitant grant was propoſed, antecedent to any viſible merit, it miſcarried in parliament, for want of being ſeconded by thoſe who had moſt credit in the houſe; and who, having always oppoſed the like exceſſes in a former reign, thought it their duty to do ſo ſtill, to ſhew the world, that the diſlike was not againſt

againſt perſons, but things. But this was to croſs the *oligarchy* in the tendereſt point; a point which outweighed all conſiderations of duty and gratitude to their prince, or regard to the conſtitution: and therefore, after having, in ſeveral private meetings, concerted meaſures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions; they began to change their ſtyle and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emiſſaries, that *England muſt be ſaved by Whigs.* This unnatural league was afterwards cultivated by another incident, I mean the *act of ſecurity*, and the conſequences of it, which every body knows; when (to uſe the words of my correſpondent *) *the ſovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchaſe of indemnity for an offending miniſter.* Thus the union of the two kingdoms improved that between the miniſtry and the *junto*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual danger in that ſtorm they ſo narrowly eſcaped about three years ago, but however was not perfected till Prince George's death †; and then they went lovingly on together, both ſatisfied with their ſeveral ſhares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations; the firſt, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and ſtate.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled queſtion, *Why was the late miniſtry changed?*

* Letter to the Examiner.

† Prince George of Denmark, huſband to the Queen.

ged? may receive the following anſwer: That it was become neceſſary, by the inſolence and avarice of ſome about the Queen, who, in order to perpetuate their tyranny, had made a monſtrous alliance with thoſe who profeſs principles deſtructive to our religion and government. If this will not ſuffice, let him make an abſtract of all the abuſes I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he ſtill remain unſatisfied, let him ſuſpend his opinion a few weeks longer. Although, after all, I think the queſtion as trifling as that of the Papiſts, when they aſk us, *Where was our religion before Luther?* And indeed the miniſtry was changed for the ſame reaſons that religion was reformed; becauſe a thouſand corruptions had crept into the *diſcipline* and *doctrine* of the *ſtate* by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of thoſe *who adminiſtered to us in ſecular affairs.*

I heard myſelf cenſured the other day in a coffee-houſe for ſeeming to glance, in the letter to Craſſus, againſt a great man, who is ſtill in employment, and likely to continue ſo. What if I had really intended that ſuch an application ſhould be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be juſtly blamed for ſo gentle a reproof. If I ſaw a handſome young fellow going to a ball at court, with a great *ſmut* upon his face, could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and deſire him, with abundnace of good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a glaſs where he might plainly

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ſee it with his own eyes? Doth any man think I ſhall ſuffer my pen to inveigh againſt vices, only becauſe they are charged upon perſons, who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or leſs pernicious, according to the ſtations of thoſe who poſſeſs them. For example, lewdneſs and intemperance are not of ſo bad conſequences in a town-rake as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer is more ſupportable than in an officer of the army. If I ſhould find fault with an admiral becauſe he wanted *politeneſs*, or an alderman for not underſtanding Greek; that indeed would be to go out of the way for occaſion of quarrelling. But exceſſive avarice in a general is, I think, the greateſt defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct, and may be attended with the moſt ruinous conſequences, as it was in Craſſus, who to that vice alone owed the deſtruction of himſelf and his army. It is the ſame thing in praiſing mens excellencies, which are more or leſs valuable, as the perſon you commend hath occaſion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honeſtly; yet if he be not able to ſpell, he ſhall never have my vote to be a ſecretary. Another may have wit and learning in a poſt where honeſty, with plain common ſenſe, are of much more uſe. You may praiſe a ſoldier for his ſkill at *cheſs*, becauſe it is ſaid to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treaſurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a *gameſter* or a *jockey*.

P. S. I have received a letter relating to Mr Greenſhields; the perſon that ſent it may know, that I will ſay ſomething to it in the next paper.

N° 30. Thurſday, March 1. 1710.

Quæ enim domus tam ſtabilis, quæ tam firma civitas eſt, quæ non a liis atque diſſidiis funditus poſſit everti?

IF we examine what ſocieties of men are in cloſeſt union among themſelves, we ſhall find them either to be thoſe who are engaged in ſome evil deſign, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of *banditti* in ſeveral countries abroad, the knots of *highwaymen* in our own nation, the ſeveral tribes of *ſharpers*, *thieves*, and *pick-pockets*, with many others, are ſo firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or diſſolve their ſeveral *gangs*; ſo likewiſe thoſe, who are fellow-ſufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are uſually contracted into a very ſtrict union; as we may obſerve in the *Papiſts* throughout this kingdom, under thoſe real difficulties which are juſtly put on them; and in the ſeveral ſchiſms of *Preſbyterians*, and other ſects, under that grievous perſecution of the modern kind, called *want of power*. And the reaſon why ſuch confederacies are kept ſo ſacred and inviolable, is very plain; becauſe in each of thoſe caſes I have mentioned, the whole body is moved

moved by one ſpirit in purſuit of one general end, and the intereſt of individuals is not croſſed by each other, or by the whole.

Now, both theſe motives are joined to unite the *high-flying Whigs* at preſent: They have been always engaged in an *evil deſign*, and of late they are faſt, or rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loſs of power. So that whatever deſign a miſchievous crew of dark confederates may poſſibly entertain, who will ſtop at no means to compaſs them, may be juſtly apprehended from theſe.

On the other ſide, thoſe who wiſh well to the public, and would gladly contribute to its ſervice, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it; and when their party flouriſhes, are ſometimes envious at thoſe in power; ready to over-value their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the meaſure they have preſcribed for themſelves. There is a farther topic of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into in relation to *retroſpections*, and inquiry into paſt miſcarriages; wherein *ſome* are thought too warm and zealous, *others* too cool and remiſs; while in the mean time theſe diviſions are induſtriouſly fomented by the diſcarded faction; which, although it be an old practice, hath been much improved in the ſchools of the *Jeſuits*, who, when they deſpaired of perverting this nation to *Popery* by arguments or plots againſt the ſtate, ſent their emiſſaries to ſubdivide us into ſchiſms. And this expedient is now, with great propriety, taken up by our men of *incenſed mode-*

ration; becauſe they ſuppoſe themſelves able to attack the ſtrongeſt of our ſubdiviſions, and to ſubdue us one after another. Nothing better reſembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; where two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adverſaries, after he had divided them by a ſtratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this ſhould be touched; yet at the ſame time I think it my duty to *warn* the friends, as well as *expoſe* the enemies of the public-weal; and to begin preaching up *union* upon the firſt ſuſpicion that any ſteps are made to diſturb it.

But the two chief ſubjects of diſcontent, which upon moſt great changes in the management of public affairs are apt to breed differences among thoſe who are in poſſeſſion, are what I have juſt now mentioned; a deſire of puniſhing the corruption of former managers; and the rewarding *merit* among thoſe who have been any way inſtrumental or conſenting to the change. The firſt of theſe is a point ſo nice, that I ſhall purpoſely wave it: but the latter I take to fall properly within my diſtrict. By *merit* I here underſtand that value, which every man puts upon his own deſervings from the public. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of paymaſter-general to this ſort of *merit;* or a more noiſy, crouded place, than a court of *judicature* erected to

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ſettle and adjuſt every man's claim upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they would have dreſſed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction; and given us a genealogy and deſcription of *merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical genealogy and deſcription of MERIT.

"THAT *true Merit* was the ſon of Virtue and "Honour; but that there was likewiſe a ſpurious "child, who uſurped the name, and whoſe pa- "rents were Vanity and Impudence. That at a "diſtance there was a great reſemblance between "them, and they were often miſtaken for each "other. That the *baſtard iſſue* had a *loud ſhrill* "*voice*, which was perpetually employed in *cra-* "*vings* and *complaints*; while the other never "ſpoke louder than a *whiſper*, and was often ſo "baſhful, that he could not ſpeak at all. That "in all great aſſemblies the *falſe Merit* would "ſtep before the *true*, and ſtand juſt in his way; "was conſtantly at court, or great mens *levees*, "or whiſpering in ſome miniſter's ear. That "the more you fed him, the more hungry and "importunate he grew. That he often paſſed "for the true ſon of Virtue and Honour, and "the genuine for an impoſtor. That he was "born diſtorted and a dwarf, but by force of art "appeared of a handſome ſhape, and taller than "the uſual ſize; and that none but thoſe who

"were

" were wiſe and good, as well as vigilant, could " diſcover his littleneſs or deformity. That the " *true Merit* had been often forced to the indig- " nity of applying to the *falſe* for his credit with " thoſe in power, and to keep himſelf from ſtar- " ving. The *falſe Merit* filled the *antichambers* " with a crew of his dependents and creatures, " ſuch as *projectors*, *ſchematiſts*, *occaſional converts* " *to a party*, *proſtitute flatterers*, *ſtarveling wri-* " *ters*, *buffoons*, *ſhallow politicians*, *empty orators*, " and the like ; who all owned him for their pa- " tron, and grew diſcontented, if they were not " immediately fed."

This metaphorical deſcription of *falſe Merit* is, I doubt, calculated for moſt countries in Chriſtendom ; as to our own, I believe it may be ſaid with a ſufficient reſerve of charity, that we are fully able to reward every man among us according to his real deſervings : And, I think, I may add without ſuſpicion of flattery, that never any prince had a miniſtry with a better judgment to diſtinguiſh between *falſe* and *real merit*, than that which is now at the helm ; or whoſe inclination, as well as intereſt, was greater to encourage the latter. And it ought to be obſerved, that thoſe great and excellent perſons we ſee at the head of affairs, are of the Queen's *own perſonal voluntary choice ;* not forced upon her by any *inſolent overgrown favourite*, or by the pretended neceſſity of complying with an *unruly faction*.

Yet theſe are the perſons whom thoſe ſcandals

dals to the preſs, in their daily pamphlets and papers, openly revile, at ſo ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For ſurely no lawful power derived from a prince ſhould be ſo far affronted, as to leave thoſe who are in authority expoſed to every ſcurrilous libeller: Becauſe in this point I make a mighty difference between thoſe who are *in*, and thoſe who are *out* of power; not upon any regard to their perſons, but the ſtations they are placed in by the ſovereign. And if my diſtinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether if a ſtranger were to read the invectives which are daily publiſhed againſt the preſent miniſtry, and the outrageous fury of the authors againſt me for cenſuring the laſt; he would not conclude the *Whigs* to be at this time in full poſſeſſion of power and favour, and the *Tories* entirely at mercy. But all this now ceaſes to be a wonder, ſince the Queen herſelf is no longer ſpared; witneſs the libel publiſhed ſome days ago, under the title of, *A letter to Sir Jacob Banks*, where the reflections upon her ſacred Majeſty are much more plain and direct, than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publiſh againſt the moſt obnoxious perſons in the *miniſtry*, diſcarded for endeavouring the ruin of their prince and country. Cæſar indeed threatened to hang the *pirates* for preſuming to diſturb him, while he was their priſoner aboard their ſhips. But it was Cæſar who did ſo, and he did it to a crew of *public robbers*; and it became the greatneſs of his

his ſpirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had *they* been in his power, and ſent ſuch a meſſage, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madneſs.

I had a letter laſt week relating to Mr Greenſhields, an *Epiſcopal* clergyman of Scotland, and the writer ſeems to be a gentleman of that part of Britain. I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr Greenſhields's caſe, who has been proſecuted and ſilenced, for no other reaſon beſides reading divine ſervice after the manner of the church of England to his own congregation, who deſired it; though, as the gentleman who writes to me ſays, there is no law in Scotland againſt thoſe meetings; and he adds, that the ſentence pronounced againſt Mr Greenſhields *will ſoon be affirmed, if ſome care be not taken to prevent it.* I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this caſe, and beſides, to treat it juſtly, would not come within the compaſs of my paper; therefore I could wiſh the gentleman would undertake it in a diſcourſe by itſelf; and I ſhould be glad he would inform the public in one fact; whether *Epiſcopal* aſſemblies are freely allowed in Scotland? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence ſome years ago into England and Ireland, as from a perſecution; but it was alledged by their enemies, that they refuſed to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them ſcrupled when they came among us. It is ſomewhat extraordi-

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nary to ſee our *Whigs* and *Fanatics* keep ſuch a ſtir about the *ſacred act of toleration*, while their *brethren* will not allow a connivance in ſo near a neighbourhood; eſpecially if what the gentleman inſiſts on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, are *Epiſcopal*; of which one argument he offereth, is the preſent choice of their repreſentatives in both Houſes, though oppoſed to the utmoſt by the *preachings*, *threatenings*, and *anathemas* of the *kirk*. Such uſage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous conſequence; and I entirely agree with him. If theſe be the principles of the *high kirk*, God preſerve, at leaſt, the ſouthern parts from their tyranny.

N° 31. Thurſday, March 8. 1710.

——Garrit aniles
Ex re fabellas.

I HAD laſt week ſent me by an unknown hand a paſſage out of Plato, with ſome hints how to apply it. That author puts a fable into the mouth of Ariſtophanes, with an account of the original of *love*; That mankind was at firſt created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till Jupiter, as a puniſhment for his ſins, cleft him in two with a thunder-bolt; ſince which time we are always looking out for our other half; and this is the cauſe of *love*. But Jupiter threatened, that if they

they did not mend their manners, he would give them the other ſlit, and leave them to hop about in the ſhape of figures in *baſſo relievo*. The effect of this laſt threatening, my correſpondent imagines, is now come to paſs; and that as the firſt *ſplitting* was the original of *love*, by inclining us to ſearch for our other half; ſo the ſecond was the cauſe of *hatred*, by prompting us to fly from our *other ſide*, and dividing the ſame *body* into two, gave each ſlice the name of a *party*.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: For *parties* do not only ſplit a nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their ſtrength, and wit, and honeſty, and good-nature; but one eye and ear for their ſight and hearing, and equally lopping the reſt of the ſenſes. Where *parties* are pretty equal in a ſtate, no man can perceive one bad quality in his own, or good one in his adverſaries. Beſides, *party* being a dry, diſagreeable ſubject, it renders converſation inſipid, or ſour, and confines invention. I ſpeak not here of the leaders, but the inſignificant croud of followers in a party, who have been the inſtruments of mixing it in every condition and circumſtance of life. As the zealots among the Jews bound the law about their foreheads and wriſts, and hems of their garments; ſo the women among us have got the diſtinguiſhing marks of *party* in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The *Whig* ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the *Tories*. They have made *ſchiſms* in the *play-houſe*,

and

and each have their particular ſides at the *opera*: and when a man changeth his *party*, he muſt infallibly count upon the loſs of his miſtreſs. I aſked a gentleman the other day, how he liked ſuch a lady? But he would not give me his opinion, till I had anſwered him whether ſhe were a *Whig* or a *Tory*. Mr ——, ſince he is known to viſit the preſent miniſtry, and lay ſome time under a ſuſpicion of writing the *Examiner*, is no longer a man of wit; his very *poems* have contracted a ſtupidity, many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of *merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *party*, or rather of *faction* (to avoid miſtake) not telling the reader whether it be my own, or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read, or dreamed it, the fable is as follows:

"LIBERTY, the daughter of Oppreſſion, af-
" ter having brought forth ſeveral fair children,
" as Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade, and many
" others, was at laſt delivered of her youngeſt
" daughter, called FACTION, whom Juno, do-
" ing the office of the midwife, diſtorted in its
" birth, out of envy to the mother, from whence
" it derived its *peeviſhneſs* and ſickly conſtitution.
" However, as it is often the nature of parents
" to grow moſt fond of their youngeſt and diſa-
" greeableſt children, ſo it happened with Li-
" berty, who doated on this daughter to ſuch a
" degree, that by her good will ſhe would never

" ſuffer the girl to be out of her ſight. As Miſs
" Faction grew up, ſhe became ſo termagant and
" froward, that there was no enduring her any
" longer in *heaven:* Jupiter gave her warning to
" be gone; and her mother, rather than forſake
" her, took the whole family down to *earth.* She
" landed firſt in Greece; was expelled by de-
" grees through all the cities, by her daughter's
" ill conduct: Fled afterwards to Italy; and be-
" ing baniſhed thence, took ſhelter among the
" Goths, with whom ſhe paſſed into moſt parts
" of Europe: but, being driven out every where,
" ſhe began to loſe eſteem, and her daughter's
" faults were imputed to herſelf: So that at this
" time ſhe has hardly a place in the world to re-
" tire to. One would wonder what ſtrange
" qualities this daughter muſt poſſeſs, ſufficient
" to blaſt the influence of ſo divine a mother,
" and the reſt of her children. She always af-
" fected to keep mean and ſcandalous company,
" valuing no-body, but juſt as they agreed with
" her in every capricious opinion ſhe thought fit to
" take up; and rigorouſly exacting compliance,
" though ſhe changed her ſentiments ever ſo of-
" ten. Her great employment was to breed *diſ-*
" *cord* among friends and relations, and make
" up monſtrous alliances between thoſe, whoſe
" diſpoſitions leaſt reſembled each other. Who-
" ever offered to contradict her, though in the
" moſt inſignificant triſle, ſhe would be ſure to
" diſtinguiſh by ſome ignominious *appellation,*
" and allow them to have neither honour, wit,
" beauty,

" beauty, learning, honeſty, or common ſenſe.
" She intruded into all companies at the moſt
" unſeaſonable times; mixed at balls, aſſemblies,
" and other parties of pleaſure, haunted every
" *coffee-houſe* and *bookſeller's ſhop;* and by her
" perpetual talking filled all places with diſturb-
" ance and confuſion: She buzzed about the
" *merchant* in the Exchange, the *divine* in his
" *pulpit*, and the *ſhop-keeper* behind his *counter*.
" Above all, ſhe frequented *public aſſemblies*,
" where ſhe ſat in the ſhape of an *obſcene*, *ominous*
" *bird*, ready to prompt her *friends* as they ſpoke."

If I underſtand this fable of FACTION right, it ought to be applied to thoſe who ſet themſelves up againſt the true intereſt and conſtitution of their country; which I wiſh the undertakers for the late miniſtry would pleaſe to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of ſpeech they pretend to call ſo great and unforced a majority, with the Queen at *their* head, by the name of *the faction;* which is not unlike the phraſe of the *Nonjurors*, who dignifying one or two deprived biſhops, and half a ſcore clergymen of the ſame ſtamp, with the title of the *Church of England*, exclude all the reſt as *ſchiſmatics;* or like the *Preſbyterians* laying the ſame accuſation, with equal juſtice, againſt the eſtabliſhed religion.

And here it may be worth inquiring, what are the true characteriſtics of a *faction;* or how it is to be diſtinguiſhed from that great body of the people, who are friends to the conſtitution?

The heads of a *faction* are uſually a ſet of upſtarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom ſome great change in a government did at firſt, out of their obſcurity, produce upon the ſtage. They aſſociate themſelves with thoſe who diſlike the old eſtabliſhment, religious and civil. They are full of new ſchemes in politics and divinity; they have an incurable hatred againſt the old nobility, and ſtrengthen their party by dependents raiſed from the loweſt of the people. They have ſeveral ways of working themſelves into power; but they are ſure to be called, when a corrupt adminiſtration wants to be ſupported againſt thoſe who are endeavouring at a reformation; and they firmly obſerve that celebrated maxim of preſerving *power* by the ſame arts by which it is attained. They act with the ſpirit of thoſe, who believe their time is but ſhort; and their firſt care is to heap up immenſe riches at the public expence; in which they have two ends beſides that common one of inſatiable avarice, which are, to make themſelves neceſſary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compaſs their deſign, which is, inſtead of fitting their principles to the conſtitution, to alter and adjuſt the conſtitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is eaſy determining by this teſt, to which ſide the name of *faction* moſt properly belongs. But however, I will give them any ſyſtem of law or regal govenment, from William the Conqueror to this preſent time, to try whether they

can

can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of Cromwell, whom perhaps they will reckon for a monarch.

If the preſent miniſtry, and ſo great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a *faction*, it muſt appear by ſome actions, which anſwer the idea we uſually conceive from that word. Have they abuſed the prerogative of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the ſubject? Have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or ſtate? Have they broached any doctrine of hereſy, rebellion, or tyranny? Have any of them treated their ſovereign with inſolence, engroſſed and ſold all her favours, or deceived her by baſe, groſs miſrepreſentations of her moſt faithful ſervants? Theſe are the arts of *faction*; and whoever hath practiſed them, they and their followers muſt take up with the name.

It is uſually reckoned a *Whig* principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been ſo wiſe as to poiſon their underſtandings before-hand. Will they now ſtand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which ſide their title of *faction* belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their underſtanding and choice, I believe our adverſaries will hardly deny. They will now refuſe this appeal, and it is reaſonable they ſhould; and I will farther add, that, if our people reſembled the old Grecians, there might be danger in ſuch a trial. A pragmatical orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people

were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you, whenever they are in their wits. But, God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at present under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their sovereign's presence, and before the highest court of judicature, without any hazard to their persons.

N° 32. Thursday, March 13. 1710.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis scalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina est ista, et crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicæ, qui exsecant pestem aliquam, tanquam stramam civitatis.

I AM diverted from the general subject of my discourses to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and surprising nature. A great minister, in high confidence with the Queen, under whose management the weight of affairs at present is in a great measure supposed to lie, sitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the state, is stabbed at the very board, in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French *Papist* *, then under examination

* The Abbot de Bourlie, who, having quitted his native country, solicited to be employed against it in several courts of Europe, and assumed the title of Marquis de Guiscard. He at length obtained a commission from Q. Anne, and embarked in an expedition against France, which miscarried; and his expectations being disappointed

tion for high treaſon; the aſſaſſin redoubles his blow to make ſure work; and concluding the Chancellor was diſpatched *, goes on with the ſame rage to murder a principal Secretary of State †: And the whole noble aſſembly are forced to riſe and draw their ſwords in their own defence, as if a wild beaſt had been let looſe among them.

This fact hath ſome circumſtances of aggravation, not to be paralleled by any of the like kind we meet with in hiſtory. Cæſar's murder being performed in the ſenate, comes neareſt to the caſe; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief ſenators, who were likewiſe the actors in it; and not the work of a vile ſingle ruffian. Harry the third of France was ſtabbed by an enthuſiaſtic friar, whom he ſuffered to approach his perſon, while thoſe who attended him ſtood at ſome diſtance. His *ſucceſſor* met the ſame fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles in ſuch a confinement were able to defend themſelves. In our own country we have, I think, but one inſtance of this ſort, which has made any noiſe; I mean that of Felton, about fourſcore years ago; but he took the opportunity

ed by the new miniſtry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home by acting here as a ſpy, and commenced a treaſonable correſpondence: His letters were intercepted, and produced to him by Mr Harley, at his examination. *Hawkeſ.*

* Mr Harley, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Earl of Oxford.

† Mr Henry St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke.

opportunity to ſtab the Duke of Buckingham in paſſing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither ſeen nor heard, and the murderer might have eſcaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is uſual in ſuch caſes, had not betrayed him. Beſides, the act of Felton will admit of ſome extenuation from the motive he is ſaid to have had: But this attempt of Guiſcard ſeems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumſtance, except the difference of perſons between a king and a great miniſter, for I give no allowance at all to the difference of ſucceſs (which however, is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the leaſt alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the puniſhment.

I am ſenſible it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few deſperate villains it is ſo unfortunate to produce; yet at the ſame time it muſt be avowed, that the French have for theſe laſt centuries been ſomewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the perſons of their greateſt men; ſuch as the Admiral de Coligny, the Dukes of Guiſe, father and ſon, and the two kings I laſt mentioned. I have ſometimes wondered how a people, whoſe genius ſeems wholly turned to ſinging, and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence; who lay ſo much weight upon modes and geſtures; whoſe eſſentialities are generally ſo very ſuperficial; who are uſually ſo ſerious upon trifles, and ſo trifling upon what is

ſerious,

ſerious, have been capable of committing ſuch ſolid villanies, more ſuitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the ſilence and thoughtfulneſs of an Italian; unleſs it be, that in a nation naturally ſo full of themſelves, and of ſo reſtleſs imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a moroſe and gloomy conſtitution, that huddle of confuſed thoughts, for want of evaporating, uſually terminates in rage or deſpair. D'Avila obſerves, that Jacques Clement * was a ſort of buffoon, whom the reſt of the friars uſed to make ſport with; but at laſt giving his folly a ſerious turn, it ended in enthuſiaſm, and qualified him for that deſperate act of murdering his king.

But in the Marquis de Guiſcard, there ſeems to have been a complication of ingredients for ſuch an attempt. He had committed ſeveral enormities in France, was extremely prodigal and vicious, of a dark melancholy complection, and cloudy countenance, ſuch as in vulgar phyſiognomy is called an *ill look*. For the reſt, his talents were very mean, having a ſort of inferior cunning, but very ſmall abilities; ſo that a great man of the late miniſtry, by whom he was invited over, and with much diſcretion raiſed, at firſt ſtep, from a profligate *Popiſh prieſt* to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horſe, was at laſt forced to drop him for ſhame.

Had ſuch an accident happened under that miniſtry, and to ſo conſiderable a member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole

* The monk who ſtabbed Henry III. of France. *Hawkeſ.*

whole body of thoſe they are pleaſed to call the *faction*. This would have been ſtyled a *high-church principle*; the clergy would have been accuſed, as promoters and abetters of the fact; committees would have been ſent to promiſe the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confeſſion; and a *black liſt* would have been printed of all thoſe who had been ever ſeen in the murderer's company. But the preſent men in power hate and deſpiſe all ſuch deteſtable arts, which they might now turn upon their adverſaries with much more plauſibility, than ever theſe did their honourable negotiations with Greg *.

And

* In the beginning of the year 1708, William Greg, an under clerk to Mr Secretary Harley, was detected in a correſpondence with Monſieur Chamillard, one of the French King's miniſters; to whom he tranſmitted the proceedings of both Houſes of parliament with reſpect to the augmentation of the Britiſh forces, and other papers of great importance. Greg, when he was indicted of this treaſon, pleaded guilty; which gave occaſion to Mr Harley's enemies to inſinuate that he was privy to Greg's practices, and had, by aſſurance of pardon, prevailed upon him to plead guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witneſſes. The Houſe of Lords appointed a committee of ſeven, of whom Lord Sunderland was manager, to inquire into the affair. The committee preſented an addreſs to the Queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr Harley's papers had been long expoſed to the meaneſt clerks in his office; and it was requeſted, that more caution might be uſed for the future. Upon this addreſs the execution of Greg was deferred a month; during which time he was ſolicited, threatened, and promiſed; but ſtill perſiſting to take the whole guilt upon himſelf,

And here it may be worth obſerving, how unanimous a concurrence there is between ſome perſons once in great power, and a French *Papiſt*; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr Harley's life, though differing in their methods; the firſt proceeding by ſubornation, the other by violence; wherein Guiſcard ſeems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life; while the other deſigned to deſtroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both againſt this gentleman ſeems to have riſen from the ſame cauſe, his diſcovering deſigns againſt the government. It was Mr Harley who detected the treaſonable correſpondence of Greg, and ſecured him betimes; when a certain great man, who ſhall be nameleſs, had, out of the depth of his politics, ſent him a caution to make his eſcape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr Harley: But when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal, with promiſe of a pardon, to write and ſign an accuſation againſt the Secretary: but, to uſe Greg's own expreſſion, *his death was nothing near ſo ignominious, as would have been ſuch a life, that muſt be ſaved by proſtituting his conſcience.* The ſame gentleman now lies ſtabbed by his other enemy, a *Popiſh ſpy*, whoſe

himſelf, he was at length executed, having, in a paper which he left behind him, juſtified Mr Harley in particular; which he would ſcarce have thought neceſſary, if no particular attempt had been made againſt him. *Hawkeſ.*

whoſe treaſon he hath diſcovered. God preſerve the reſt of her Majeſty's miniſters from ſuch *Proteſtants*, and from ſuch *Papiſts?*

I ſhall take occaſion to hint at ſome particularities in this ſurpriſing fact, for the ſake of thoſe at a diſtance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confeſſed in Newgate, that his chief deſign was againſt Mr Secretary St John, who happened to change ſeats with Mr Harley for more convenience of examining the criminal; and being aſked what provoked him to ſtab the Chancellor, he ſaid, that not being able to come at the Secretary, as he intended, it was ſome ſatisfaction to murder the perſon whom he thought Mr St John loved beſt *.

And here if Mr Harley hath ſtill any enemies left, whom his blood ſpilt in the public ſervice cannot reconcile, I hope they will at leaſt admire his magnanimity, which is a quality eſteemed even in an enemy: And I think there are few greater inſtances of it to be found in ſtory. After the wound was given, he was obſerved neither to change his countenance, nor diſcover any concern or diſorder in his ſpeech. He roſe up and walked about the room while he was able, with the greateſt tranquillity, during the height of the confuſion. When the ſurgeon came, he took him aſide, and deſired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, becauſe in that caſe, he ſaid, he had ſome affairs to

* How much he was miſtaken, appears by Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Windham.

to ſettle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow againſt a rib within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his cloaths) as the ſurgeon was going to dreſs him: He ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himſelf, gave it ſome-body to keep, ſaying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him*. He ſhewed no ſort of reſentment, nor ſpoke one violent word againſt Guiſcard, but appeared all the while the leaſt concerned of any in the company. A ſtate of mind, which, in ſuch an exigency, nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a Chriſtian philoſopher.

If there be really ſo great a difference in principle between the *high-flying Whigs* and the friends of France, I cannot but repeat the queſtion, how came they to join in the deſtruction of the ſame man? Can his death be poſſibly for the intereſt of both? or have they both the ſame quarrel againſt him, that he is perpetually diſcovering and preventing the treacherous deſigns of our enemies? However it be, this great miniſter may now ſay with St Paul, that he hath been *in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by ſtrangers*.

In the midſt of ſo melancholy a ſubject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that ſuch a ſavage monſter as the Marquis de Guiſcard is none of her production; a wretch perhaps more deteſtable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to re-

preſent him to the world. For there are good reaſons to believe from ſeveral circumſtances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than thoſe he happened to execute; I mean ſuch as every good ſubject muſt tremble to think on. He hath of late been frequently ſeen going up the back-ſtairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her Majeſty's bed-chamber. He hath often, and earneſtly preſſed, for ſome time, to have acceſs to the Queen, even ſince his correſpondence with France. And he has now given ſuch a proof of his diſpoſition, as leaves it eaſy to gueſs what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legiſlature will interpoſe on ſo extraordinary an occaſion as this, and direct a puniſhment * ſome way proportionable to ſo execrable a crime.

Et quicunque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita———

N° 33. Thurſday, March 22. 1710.

De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil eſt dulcius, tibi aſſentior.

THE *apologies* of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the moſt uſeful parts of their writings, and to have done greateſt ſervice

* An act was immediately paſſed to make an attempt on the life of a Privy-councellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy. *Hawkeſ.*

vice to the Chriſtian religion; becauſe they removed thoſe miſrepreſentations which had done it moſt injury. The methods theſe writers took, were openly and freely to diſcover every point of their faith, to detect the falſehood of their accuſers, and to charge nothing upon their adverſaries but what they were ſure to make good. This example hath been ill followed of later times; the *Papiſts* ſince the Reformation uſing all arts to palliate the abſurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thouſand calumnies; the conſequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate ſeparation. It is the ſame thing in civil ſchiſms: A *Whig* forms an image of a *Tory* juſt after the thing he moſt abhors, and that image ſerveth to repreſent the whole body.

I am not ſenſible of any material difference there is between thoſe who call themſelves the *old Whigs*, and a great majority of the preſent *Tories*: at leaſt by all I could ever find from examining ſeveral perſons of each denomination. But it muſt be confeſſed, that the preſent body of *Whigs*, as they now conſtitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox profeſſor either in religion or government, whoſe opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of leſſening their number; while the bulk of the landed men and people were entirely of the old ſentiments. However, they ſtill pretended a due regard to the *monarchy* and the

church, even at the time when they were making the largeſt ſteps towards the ruin of both: But not being able to wipe off the many accuſations laid to their charge, they endeavoured, by throwing off ſcandal, to make the *Tories* appear blacker than themſelves; that ſo the people might join with *them* as the ſmaller evil of the two.

But among all the reproaches which the *Whigs* have flung upon their adverſaries, there is none hath done them more ſervice than that of *paſſive obedience*, as they repreſent it with the conſequences of *non-reſiſtance*, *arbitrary power*, *indefeaſible right*, *tyranny*, *Popery*, and what not. There is no accuſation which hath paſſed with more plauſibility than this; nor any that is ſupported with leſs juſtice. In order therefore to undeceive thoſe who have been miſled by falſe repreſentations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to ſet this matter in a fair light, which I think hath not yet been done. A *Whig* aſks, whether you hold *paſſive obedience?* You affirm it: He then immediately cries out, you are a *Jacobite*, a *friend* of France and the Pretender! becauſe he makes you anſwerable for the definition he hath formed of that term, however different it be from what you underſtand. I will therefore give two deſcriptions of *paſſive obedience*; the firſt as it is falſely charged by the *Whigs*, the other as it is really profeſſed by the *Tories*, at leaſt by nineteen in twenty of all I ever converſed with.

Paſſive

Paſſive obedience, as charged by the WHIGS.

THE doctrine of *paſſive obedience* is to believe, that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only anſwerable to him: That ſuch a king is above all law; that the cruelleſt tyrant muſt be ſubmitted to in all things; and if his commands be ever ſo unlawful, you muſt neither fly nor reſiſt, nor uſe any other weapons than *prayers* and *tears*. Although he ſhould force your wife or daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diverſion; you are ſtill to wiſh him a long proſperous reign, and to be patient under all his cruelties with the ſame reſignation as under a plague or famine; becauſe to reſiſt him, would be to reſiſt God in the perſon of his vicegerent. If a king of England ſhould go through the ſtreets of London in order to murder every man he met, *paſſive obedience* commands them to ſubmit. All laws made to limit him ſignify nothing, although paſſed by his own conſent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a ſevere account, but the whole people united to a man cannot preſume to hold his hands, or offer him the leaſt *active diſobedience*: The people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worſe than what I have deſcribed, altho' a fool or a madman, hath a divine indefeaſible right to ſucceed him, which no law can diſannul; nay, although he ſhould kill his father upon the

throne, he is immediately king to all intents and purpoſes; the poſſeſſion of the crown wiping off all ſtains. But whoſoever ſits on the throne without this title, though ever ſo peaceably, and by conſent of former kings and parliaments, is an *uſurper*, while there is any-where in the world another perſon, who hath a nearer hereditary right; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal ſin, till that heir be reſtored, becauſe he hath a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

This, and a great deal more, hath, in a thouſand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of *paſſive obedience* which the *Whigs* are pleaſed to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually diſtilling into the people as the undoubted principle by which the preſent miniſtry, and a great majority in parliament, do at this time proceed. This is what they accuſe the clergy of delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. And whoever affirms in general, that *paſſive obedience* is due to the ſupreme power, he is preſently loaded by our candid adverſaries with ſuch conſequences as theſe. Let us therefore ſee what this doctrine is, when ſtript of ſuch miſrepreſentations, by deſcribing it as really taught and practiſed by the *Tories*; and then it will appear what grounds our adverſaries have to accuſe us upon this article.

Paſſive

Paſſive obedience, as profeſſed and practiſed by the TORIES.

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republic, there is placed a ſupreme, abſolute and unlimited power, to which *paſſive obedience* is due. That where-ever is entruſted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal, or enact at pleaſure whatever laws it thinks fit; and juſtly demand univerſal obedience and non-reſiſtance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the King or Queen, together with the Lords and Commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatſoever, made by that power, are to be actively or paſſively obeyed. That the adminiſtration, or executive part of this power, is in England ſolely entruſted with the prince, who in adminiſtering thoſe laws ought to be no more reſiſted that the legiſlative power itſelf. But they do not conceive the ſame abſolute *paſſive obedience* to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he hath conſented to, and ſworn to maintain. The crown may be ſued, as well as a private perſon; and if any arbitrary king of England ſhould ſend his officers to ſeize my lands or goods againſt law, I can lawfully reſiſt them. The miniſters, by whom he acts, are liable to proſecution and impeachment, although his own perſon be ſacred. But if he interpoſe his royal authority to ſupport their inſolence,

lence, I ſee no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reaſon to apprehend it will be ſo; after which it becomes a caſe of neceſſity, and then I ſuppoſe a free people may aſſert their own rights, yet without any violation to the perſon or lawful power of the prince. But although the *Tories* allow all this, and did juſtify it by the ſhare they had in the *Revolution*; yet they ſee no reaſon for entering into ſo ungrateful a ſubject, or raiſing controverſies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehenſions of *tyranny* under the reign of ſo excellent a princeſs, and while we have ſo many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative; when, according to thoſe who know our conſtitution beſt, things rather ſeem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the ſucceſſion; the *Tories* think an *hereditary right* to be the beſt in its own nature, and moſt agreeable to our old conſtitution; yet at the ſame time they allow it to be defeaſible by act of parliament; and ſo is *magna charta* too, if the legiſlature think fit: Which is a truth ſo manifeſt, that no man, who underſtands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it.

Theſe I take to be the ſentiments of a great majority among the *Tories* with reſpect to *paſſive obedience*: And if the *Whigs* inſiſt, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to form a judgment of the whole body, according

according to the firſt account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their ſide, who are utterly againſt *paſſive obedience* even to the legiſlature; who will aſſert the laſt reſort of power to be in the people againſt thoſe whom they have choſen and truſted as their repreſentatives, with the prince at the head; and who will put wild improbable caſes to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of reſiſting the legiſlative power in ſuch imaginary junctures. Than which, however, nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake in any ſyſtem of goverment, either ſpeculative or practical, that was ever yet in the world, from Plato's Republic to Harrington's Oceana, to put ſuch difficulties as cannot be anſwered.

All the other calumnies raiſed by the *Whigs* may be as eaſily wiped off; and I have charity to wiſh they could as fully anſwer the juſt accuſations we have againſt them. Dodwell, Hicks, and Leſley, are gravely quoted to prove, that the *Tories* deſign to bring in the Pretender; and if I ſhould quote them to prove that the ſame thing is intended by the *Whigs*, it would be full as reaſonable; ſince I am ſure they have at leaſt as much to do with *Nonjurors* as we. But our objections againſt the *Whigs* are built upon their conſtant practice for many years, whereof I have produced an hundred inſtances, againſt any ſingle one, of which no anſwer hath yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with,

that

that are written againſt the *Examiner*; ſuch a taſk as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my miſtakes; as I would be ready to do upon the call of the *meaneſt* adverſary. Upon which occaſion I ſhall take leave to add a few words.

I flattered myſelf laſt Thurſday, from the nature of my ſubject, and the inoffenſive manner I handled it, that I ſhould have one week's reſpite from thoſe mercileſs pens, whoſe ſeverity will ſome time break my heart: But I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two *lies* and a *blunder*. The firſt *lie* is a truth, that Guiſcard was invited over; but it is of no conſequence. I do not tax it as a fault; ſuch ſort of men have often been ſerviceable: I only blamed the indiſcretion of raiſing a profligate abbot, at the firſt ſtep, to a lieutenant-general and colonel of a regiment of horſe without ſtaying ſome reaſonable time, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, until he had given ſome proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that intereſt and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is ſaid to be another lie; for he was a *Papiſt*, and could not have a regiment: However, this other lie is a truth too; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent, Monſieur la Bas, for his uſe. The third is a *blunder*; that I ſay, Guiſcard's deſign was againſt Mr Secretary St John, and yet my reaſonings upon it are as if it were perſonally againſt Mr Harley. But I

ſay

ſay no ſuch thing, and my reaſonings are juſt. I relate only what Guiſcard ſaid in Newgate, becauſe it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know (and accordingly it lies in a paragraph by itſelf, after my reflections) but I never meant to be anſwerable for what Guiſcard ſaid, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw concluſions from thence, when I had the addreſs of both Houſes to direct me better; where it is expreſsly ſaid, "That Mr Harley's fidelity "to her Majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, have "drawn upon him the hatred of all the abet-"ters of Popery and faction." This is what I believe, and what I ſhall ſtick to.

But, alas! theſe are not the paſſages which have raiſed ſo much fury againſt me. One or two miſtakes in facts of no importance, or a ſingle blunder, would not have provoked them; they are not ſo tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occaſioned by thoſe paſſages in that paper, which they do not in the leaſt pretend to anſwer, and with the utmoſt reluctancy are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear Guiſcard from a deſign againſt Mr Harley's life; but offer not one argument to clear their other friends, who, in the buſineſs of Greg, were equally guilty of the *ſame deſign* againſt the *ſame perſon; whoſe tongues were very ſwords*, and whoſe *penknives* were *axes*.

N° 34. Thurſday, March 29. 1711.

——Sunt hic etiam ſua præmia laudi;
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.

I BEGIN to be heartily weary of my employment as *Examiner*; which I wiſh the miniſtry would conſider with half ſo much concern as I do, and aſſign me ſome other with leſs pains, and a penſion. There may ſoon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am *equally* qualified for each; but this trade of *examining*, I apprehend, may at one time or other go near to ſour my temper. I did lately propoſe, that ſome of thoſe *ingenious* pens, which are engaged on the other ſide, might be employed to ſucceed me; and I undertook to bring them over for *t' other crown*: But it was anſwered, that thoſe gentlemen do much better ſervice in the ſtations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuſes yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had often promiſed to do, but was too much diverted by other ſubjects that came into my head. On the other ſide, the advice of ſome friends, and the threats of many enemies, have put me upon conſidering, what would become of me, *if times ſhould alter*: This I have done very maturely; and the reſult is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant, that what I have ſaid upon occaſion, concerning the late men in power, may be called ſatire by ſome unthinking people, as long as that faction is down: But if ever they come into play

play again, I muſt give them warning beforehand, that I ſhall expect to be a *favourite*, and that thoſe pretended advocates of theirs will be pilloried for *libellers*. For I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one ſingle action or deſign, which (if we may judge by their former practices) they will not openly profeſs, be proud of, and ſcore up for merit, when they come again to the head of affairs? I ſaid, they were inſolent to the Queen: Will they not value themſelves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold aſſertors of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were againſt a peace: Will they be angry with me for ſetting forth the refinements of their politics, in purſuing the only method left to preſerve them in power? I ſaid, they had involved the nation in debts, and engroſſed much of its money: They go beyond me, and boaſt they have got it *all*, and the *credit* too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government: If they deſtroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyric than an affront? I ſaid, they had formerly a deſign againſt Mr Harley's life *: If they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for juſtifying the ſincerity of their intentions? In ſhort, there is nothing I ever ſaid of thoſe worthy patriots, which may not be as well excuſed: therefore, as ſoon as they reſume their places, I

* See *The Examiner* N° 32.

poſitively deſign to put in my claim; and, I think, may do it with a better grace than many of that party, who now make their court to the preſent miniſtry. I know two or three great men, at whoſe levees you may daily obſerve a ſcore of the moſt forward faces, which every body is aſhamed of, except thoſe who wear them. But I conceive, my pretenſions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel caſe: Suppoſe K. Charles I. had entirely ſubdued the rebels at Naſeby, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience; whoever had gone about to reaſon from the former conduct of thoſe *ſaints*, that if the victory had fallen on their ſide, they would have murdered their prince, deſtroyed monarchy and the church, and made the King's party compound for their eſtates as delinquents, would have been called a falſe uncharitable libeller by thoſe very perſons, who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *work of the Lord*, when they happened to ſucceed. I remember there was a perſon fined and impriſoned for *ſcandalum magnatum*, becauſe he ſaid the Duke of York was a Papiſt: But when that prince came to be king, and made open profeſſion of his religion, he had the juſtice immediately to releaſe his priſoner, who in his opinion had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach: And therefore Colonel Titus, who had warmly aſſerted the ſame thing in parliament, was made a Privy-counſellor.

By this rule, if that, which for ſome politic reaſons is now called ſcandal upon the late miniſtry,

niſtry, proves one day to be only an abſtract of ſuch a character as they will aſſume, and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretenſions, and hope for their favour: And I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have obſerved in thoſe papers that come out weekly againſt the Examiner. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my maſters; that I *blunder* and betray the cauſe; and write with more bitterneſs againſt thoſe who hire me, than againſt the Whigs. Now, I took all this at firſt only for ſo many ſtrains of wit, and pretty paradoxes, to divert the reader; but upon further thinking, I find they are ſerious. I imagined I had complimented the preſent miniſtry for their dutiful behaviour to the Queen, for their love of the old conſtitution in church and ſtate, for their generoſity and juſtice, and for their deſire of a ſpeedy honourable peace: But it ſeems I am miſtaken, and they reckon all this for ſatire, becauſe it is directly contrary to the practice of all thoſe whom they ſet up to defend, and utterly againſt all their notions of a good miniſtry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reaſon on their ſide: For, ſuppoſe I ſhould write the character of an honeſt, a religious, and a learned man; and ſend the firſt to Negwate, the ſecond to the Grecian Coffee-houſe, and the laſt to White's; would they not all paſs for ſatires, and juſtly enough, among the companies to whom they were ſent?

Having therefore employed ſeveral papers in

ſuch ſort of *panegyrics*, and but very few on what they underſtand to be *ſatires*, I ſhall henceforth upon occaſion be more liberal of the latter; of which they are like to have a taſte in the remainder of this preſent paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom hath received by the late change of miniſtry, the greateſt muſt be allowed to be the calling of the preſent parliament upon the diſſolution of the laſt. It is acknowledged, that this excellent aſſembly hath entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily proſtituted for ſome years paſt by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority, in concert with a moſt corrupt adminiſtration. It is plain by the preſent choice of members, that the electors of England, when left to themſelves, do rightly underſtand their true intereſt. The moderate *Whigs* begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong hands, and that things are now as they ſhould be. And that as the preſent Houſe of Commons is the beſt repreſentative of the nation that hath ever been ſummoned in our memories; ſo they have taken care in their firſt ſeſſion, by that noble bill of *qualification* *, that future parliaments ſhould be compoſed of landed men; and our properties lie no more at the mercy of thoſe who have none themſelves, or at leaſt only what is tranſient or imaginary. If there be any gratitude in poſterity, the memory of this

* The qualification required by this act is ſome eſtate in land, either in poſſeſſion or certain reverſion. See N° 44.

this aſſembly will be always celebrated; if otherwiſe, at leaſt we, who ſhare in the bleſſings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them.

I deſign in ſome following papers to draw up a liſt (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament hath already performed; the many abuſes they have detected; their juſtice in deciding elections without regard to party; their chearfulneſs and addreſs in raiſing ſupplies for the war, and at the ſame time providing for the nation's debt; their duty to the Queen, and their kindneſs to the church. In the mean time, I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which, in my opinion, do diſcover, in ſome meaſure, the temper of the preſent parliament, and bear analogy to thoſe paſſages related by Plutarch in the lives of certain great men; which, as himſelf obſerveth, "although they be not of actions "which make any great noiſe or figure in hi-"ſtory, yet give more light into the characters of "perſons, than we could receive from an account "of their moſt renowned atchievements."

Something like this may be obſerved from two late inſtances of *decency* and *good-nature* in that illuſtrious aſſembly I am ſpeaking of. The firſt was, when, after that inhuman attempt upon Mr Harley, they were pleaſed to vote an addreſs to the Queen, wherein they expreſs their utmoſt deteſtation of the fact, their high eſteem and great concern for that able miniſter, and juſtly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her Ma-

jeſty's ſervice, which had *drawn upon him the hatred of all the abetters of Popery and faction.* I dare affirm, that ſo diſtinguiſhing a mark of honour and good will from ſuch a parliament was more acceptable to a perſon of Mr Harley's generous nature, than the moſt *bountiful grant* that was ever yet made to a ſubject; as her Majeſty's anſwer, filled with gracious expreſſions in his favour, adds more to his *real glory*, than any *titles* ſhe could beſtow. The prince and repreſentatives of the whole kingdom join in their concern for ſo important a life: Theſe are the true rewards of virtue; and this is the commerce between noble ſpirits in a coin which the *giver* knows where to beſtow, and the *receiver* how to value, although neither *avarice* nor *ambition* would be able to comprehend its worth.

The other inſtance I intend to produce of *decency* and *good-nature* in the preſent Houſe of Commons, relates to their moſt worthy ſpeaker *; who having unfortunately loſt his eldeſt ſon, the aſſembly, moved with a generous pity for ſo ſenſible an affliction, adjourned themſelves for a week, that ſo good a ſervant of the public might have ſome interval to wipe away a father's tears. And indeed that gentleman hath too juſt an occaſion for his grief by the death of a ſon, who had already acquired ſo great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be ſo great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before

* William Bromley, Eſq;

Before I conclude, I muſt deſire one favour of the reader; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruſe any paper written againſt the *Examiner*, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in ſuch papers, but be ſo juſt to read the paragraph referred to; which I am confident will be found a ſufficient anſwer to all that ever thoſe papers can object: At leaſt, I have ſeen above fifty of them, and never yet obſerved one ſingle quotation tranſcribed with common candour.

N° 35. Thurſday, April 5. 1711.

Nulli ſuo peccato impediantur, quo minus alterius peccata demonſtrare poſſint.

I HAVE been conſidering the old conſtitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet ſo many accounts in ancient ſtory, and with thoſe at preſent in moſt parts of Europe. I have conſidered our religion, eſtabliſhed here by the legiſlature ſoon after the Reformation. I have likewiſe examined the genius and diſpoſition of the people under that reaſonable freedom they poſſeſs. Then I have turned my reflections upon thoſe two great diviſions of *Whig* and *Tory* (which ſome way or other take in the whole kingdom) with the principles they both profeſs, as well as thoſe wherewith they reproach one another. From all this I endeavour to determine from which ſide

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her preſent Majeſty may reaſonably hope for moſt ſecurity to her perſon and government; and to which ſhe ought in prudence to truſt the adminiſtration of her affairs. If theſe two rivals were really no more than *parties*, according to the common acceptation of the word, I ſhould agree with thoſe politicians, who think a prince deſcends from his dignity by putting himſelf at the head of either; and that his wiſeſt courſe is to keep them in a balance, raiſing or depreſſing either, as it beſt ſuits with his deſigns. But when the viſible intereſt of his crown and kingdom lies on one ſide; and when the other is but a *faction*, raiſed and ſtrengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with falſe repreſentations of things; he ought in prudence to take the firſt opportunity of opening his ſubjects eyes, and declaring himſelf in favour of thoſe who are for preſerving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are ſo interwoven.

This was certainly our caſe: For I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the *Whigs* to make up, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a *national party*; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconſiſtent parts, whom nothing ſerved to unite, but the common intereſt of ſharing in the ſpoil and plunder of the people; their preſent dread of their adverſaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conſpiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and ſtate, which, however, if they could have compaſſed,

paſſed, they would certainly have fallen out among themſelves, and broke in pieces, as *their predeceſſors* did after they deſtroyed the monarchy and religion. For how could a *Whig*, who is againſt all diſcipline, agree with a *Preſbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *Papiſts* themſelves? How could a *Socinian* adjuſt his models to either? Or how could any of theſe cement with a *Deiſt* or *Free-thinker*, when they came to conſult upon points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their ſyſtems of government; where ſome would have been for a king under the limitations of a duke of Venice; others for a Dutch republic; a third party for an ariſtocracy; and moſt of all for ſome new fabric of their own contriving.

But however, let us conſider them as a *party*, and under thoſe general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us *examine* thoſe principles of the *Tories*, which their adverſaries allow them to profeſs, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to thoſe profeſſions: After which let the reader judge, from which of theſe two parties a prince hath moſt to fear; and whether her Majeſty did not conſider the eaſe, the ſafety, and dignity of her perſon, the ſecurity of her crown, and the tranſmiſſion of monarchy to her Proteſtant ſucceſſors, when ſhe put affairs into the preſent hands.

Suppoſe the matter were not entire; the

Queen

Queen to make her choice; and for that end, ſhould order the principles on both ſides to be fairly laid before her. Firſt, I conceive, the *Whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for *crowned heads*; that they allow the perſon of the prince may, upon many occaſions, be reſiſted by arms; and that they do not condemn the war raiſed againſt K. Charles I. or own it to be a rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the *prerogative* to be yet ſufficiently limited; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover) to clip it ſtill cloſer againſt the next reign; which conſequently they would be glad to ſee done in the preſent: Not to mention, that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they preſer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to *religion*; their univerſal undiſputed maxim is, that it ought to make no diſtinction at all among *Proteſtants*; and in the word *Proteſtant* they include every body who is not a *Papiſt*, and who will by an oath give ſecurity to the government. Union in diſcipline and doctrine, the offenſive ſin of ſchiſm, the notion of a church and a hierarchy, they laugh at as foppery, cant, and *prieſtcraft*. They ſee no neceſſity at all that there ſhould be a national faith; and what we uſually call by that name, they only ſtyle the *religion of the magiſtrate* *. Since the diſſenters and we

* See *Letter on the Teſt*, Vol. IV.

we agree in the main, why ſhould the difference of a few ſpeculative points or modes of dreſs incapacitate them from ſerving their prince and country, in a juncture when we ought to have all hands up againſt the common enemy? And why ſhould they be forced to take the ſacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our poſture; or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

Theſe are the notions which moſt of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to diſguiſe or ſet off with falſe colours, or complain of being miſrepreſented about. I have here placed them on purpoſe in the ſame light, which themſelves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuſe them of; and how inviting even theſe doctrines are for ſuch a monarch to cloſe with, as our law, both ſtatute and common, underſtands a king of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to theſe we ſhould add other opinions, which moſt of their own writers juſtify, and which their univerſal practice hath given a ſanction to; they are no more than what a prince might reaſonably expect, as the natural conſequence of thoſe avowed principles. For when ſuch perſons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that reſpect they ought to bear; and at the ſame time, their own want of duty to their ſovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater ſubmiſſion to themſelves

themſelves from their fellow-ſubjects: It being indiſputably true, that the ſame principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with inſolence, in the ſame proportion as he affronts his ſuperiors; as both prince and people have ſufficiently felt from the late miniſtry.

Then, from their confeſſed notions of religion as above related, I ſee no reaſon to wonder, why they countenanced not only all ſorts of diſſenters, but the ſeveral *gradations* of *Free-thinkers* among us (all which are openly enrolled in their party) nor why they were ſo very averſe from the preſent eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, which, by preſcribing obedience to princes from the topic of conſcience, would be ſure to thwart all their ſchemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the conſtitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring on all occaſions the *monied* intereſt before the *landed*; which they were ſo far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of it; and at the rate they went on, might in a little time have found a majority of repreſentatives fitly qualified to lay thoſe heavy burdens on the reſt of the nation, which themſelves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are ſome motives which might compel a prince, under the neceſſity of affairs, to deliver himſelf over to that party. They were *ſaid* to poſſeſs the great bulk

bulk of caſh, and conſequently of credit in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of preſiding over thoſe ſocieties, who have the great direction of both: So that all applications for loans to the public ſervice, upon any emergency, muſt be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to diſoblige them, becauſe in that caſe it was not to be doubted, that they would be obſtinate and malicious, ready to obſtruct all affairs, not only by ſhutting their own purſes, but by endeavouring to ſink *credit*, although with ſome preſent imaginary loſs to themſelves, only to ſhew it was a *creature* of their own.

From this ſummary of *Whig principles* and diſpoſitions, we find what a prince may reaſonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly conſider the doctrines of the *Tories*, which their adverſaries will not diſpute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, ſo they think it next to impoſſible to alter that inſtitution here, without involving our whole iſland in blood and deſolation. They believe, that the prerogative of a ſovereign ought at leaſt to be held as ſacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reaſon, becauſe without a due ſhare of power he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both ſtatute and common, neither the perſon nor lawful authority of the prince ought, upon any pretence whatſoever, to be reſiſted or diſo-

beyed. Their ſentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being juſt the reverſe to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the *Whigs* upon that article.

But here I muſt likewiſe deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteriſtic of the *Tories*, which hath much diſcouraged ſome princes from making uſe of them in affairs. Give the *Whigs* but power enough to inſult their ſovereign, engroſs his favours to themſelves, and to oppreſs and plunder their fellow-ſubjects; they preſently grow into good humour and good language towards the crown; profeſs they will ſtand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudeneſſes they may be guilty of in private, yet they aſſure the world that there never was ſo gracious a monarch. But, to the ſhame of the *Tories*, it muſt be confeſſed, that nothing of all this hath been ever obſerved in them; in or out of favour, you ſee no alteration, farther than a little chearfulneſs or cloud in their countenances: The higheſt employments can add nothing to their loyalty; but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expreſſions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the ſame.

Having thus impartially ſtated the avowed principles of *Whig* and *Tory*; let the reader determine as he pleaſeth, to which of theſe two a wiſe prince may, with moſt ſafety to himſelf and the

the public, truſt his perſon and his affairs; and whether it were raſhneſs or prudence in her Majeſty to make thoſe changes in the miniſtry, which have been ſo highly extolled by ſome, and condemned by others.

N° 36. Thurſday, April 12. 1711.

Tres ſpecies tam diſſimiles, tria talia texta,
Una dies dedit exitio———

I WRITE this paper for the ſake of the *Diſſenters*, whom I take to be the moſt ſpreading branch of the *Whig party* that *profeſſeth Chriſtianity*, and the only one that ſeems to be zealous for any particular ſyſtem of it; the bulk of thoſe we call the *low-church* being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point; and the other ſubdiviſions having not yet taken either the Old or New Teſtament into their ſcheme. By the *Diſſenters*, therefore, it will be eaſily underſtood that I mean the *Preſbyterians*, as they include the ſects of *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, and others, which have been melted down into them ſince the *Reſtoration*. This ſect, in order to make itſelf national, having gone ſo far as to raiſe a rebellion, murder their king, deſtroy monarchy and the church, was afterwards broken in pieces by its own diviſions; which made way for the King's return from his exile. However, the zealous among them did ſtill entertain hopes of recovering the *dominion of grace*; whereof I have read a remarkable paſſage in a book publiſhed about the

year 1661, and written by one of their own ſide. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend aſked him, "Whether he thought "the *cauſe* would revive?" He anſwered, "The "*cauſe* is in the boſom of Chriſt; and as ſure as "Chriſt roſe from the dead, ſo ſure will the *cauſe* "revive alſo." And therefore the *Nonconformiſts* were ſtrictly watched, and reſtrained by penal laws, during the reign of K. Charles II. the court and kingdom looking on them as a *faction* ready to join in any deſign againſt the government in church or ſtate. And ſurely this was reaſonable enough, while ſo many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached againſt both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The *Nonconformiſts* were then exactly upon the ſame foot with our *Nonjurors* now, whom we double tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking ourſelves poſſeſſed with a perſecuting ſpirit; becauſe we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, ſhould altogether ſilence the *Diſſenters* complaints of perſecution under K. Charles II. or make them ſhew us wherein they differed at that time from what our *Jacobites* are now.

Their inclinations to the church were ſoon diſcovered, when K. James II. ſucceeded to the crown, with whom they unanimouſly joined in its ruin, to revenge themſelves for that reſtraint they had moſt juſtly ſuffered in the foregoing reign, not from the perſecuting temper of the clergy,

clergy, as their clamours would ſuggeſt, but the prudence and caution of the legiſlature. The ſame indulgence againſt law was made uſe of by them and the *Papiſts*: and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common intereſt.

But the Revolution happening ſoon after, ſerved to waſh away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run againſt *Popery* was no doubt as juſt and ſeaſonable as that of *Fanaticiſm* after the Reſtoration; and the dread of *Popery* being then our lateſt danger, and conſequently the moſt freſh upon our ſpirits, all mouths were open againſt that: The *Diſſenters* were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and King's murder were now no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durſt call it a *rebellion*, was a *Jacobite* and *friend* to France. This was the more unexpected, becauſe the Revolution being wholly brought about by church of England hands, they hoped one good conſequence of it would be, the relieving us from the encroachments of *Diſſenters*, as well as thoſe of *Papiſts*; ſince both had equally confederated towards our ruin: And therefore, when the crown was now ſettled, it was hoped at leaſt that the reſt of the conſtitution would be reſtored. But this affair took a very different turn: The *Diſſenters* had juſt made a ſhift to ſave a tide, and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was deſperate with their *Protector* K. James; and obſerving a party then

forming againſt the old principles in church and ſtate, under the name of *Whigs* and *low-churchmen*, they liſted themſelves of it, where they have ever ſince continued.

It is therefore, upon the foot they now are, that I would apply myſelf to them, and deſire they would conſider the different circumſtances at preſent, from what they were under when they began their deſigns againſt the church and monarchy about ſeventy years ago. At that juncture, they made up the body of the party; and whoſoever joined with them from principles of revenge, diſcontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to ſhelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of a further and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the *great work* (as the cant was then) *that God was about to do in theſe nations*; received the ſyſtems of doctrine and diſcipline preſcribed by the Scots, and readily took the *covenant*; ſo that there appeared no diviſion among them, till after the common enemy was ſubdued.

But now their caſe is quite otherwiſe; and I can hardly think it worth being of a *party*, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For ſuppoſe the whole *faction* ſhould at length ſucceed in their deſign of deſtroying the church; are they ſo weak to imagine, that the new-modelling of religion would be put into their hands? Would their brethren, the *low-churchmen* and *free-thinkers*, ſubmit to their *diſcipline*, their

ſynods,

ſynods, or their *claſſes*; and divide the lands of biſhops, or deans and chapters, among them? How can they help obſerving, that their allies, inſtead of pretending more ſanctity than other men, are ſome of them for levelling all religion; and the reſt for aboliſhing it? Is it not manifeſt that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the ſame manner as they were by K. James II. made inſtruments to ruin the church; not for their own ſakes, but under a pretended project of univerſal freedom in opinion to advance the dark deſigns of thoſe who employ them? For, excepting the *antimonarchical principle*, and a few falſe notions about *liberty*, I ſee but little agreement betwixt them; and even in theſe, I believe it would be impoſſible to contrive a frame of government that would pleaſe them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be ſure, the *Preſbyterian* inſtitution would never obtain. For ſuppoſe they ſhould, in imitation of their predeceſſors, propoſe to have no king but our Saviour CHRIST; the whole clan of *free-thinkers* would immediately object, and refuſe his authority. Neither would their *low-church* brethren uſe them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, where-ever they are ſuffered to preſide. So that upon the whole I do not ſee, as their preſent circumſtances ſtand, where the *Diſſenters* can find better quarters than from the church of England.

Beſides, I leave it to their conſideration, whether,

ther, with all their zeal againſt the church, they ought not to ſhew a little decency; and how far it conſiſts with their reputation to act in concert with ſuch confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the preſent Moſt Chriſtian King *, to aſſiſt the Turk againſt the Emperor: Policy and reaſons of ſtate were not allowed ſufficient excuſes for taking part with an *infidel* againſt a *believer*. It is one of the *Diſſenters* quarrels againſt the church, that ſhe is not enough reformed from *Popery*; yet they boldly entered into a league with *Papiſts*, and a *Popiſh prince*, to deſtroy her. They profeſs much ſanctity, and object againſt the wicked lives of ſome of our members; yet they have been long, and ſtill continue, in ſtrict combination with *Libertines and Atheiſts*, to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews ſhould multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the *Diſſenters* join in alliance with them likewiſe, becauſe they agree already in ſome general principles, and becauſe the Jews are allowed to be a *ſtiff-necked and rebellious people?*

It is the part of wiſe men to conceal their paſſions, when they are not in circumſtances of exerting them to purpoſe: The arts of getting power, and preſerving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reaſonable hopes of the *Diſſenters* ſeem to be at an end; their comrades, the *Whigs* and *Free-thinkers*, are juſt in a condition proper to be forſaken; and the parliament, as well

* Lewis XIV. King of France.

well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Beſides, it ſometimes happens for a cauſe to be exhauſted and worn out, as that of the *Whigs* in general ſeems at preſent to be: The nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope reſtoring that decayed intereſt, as for a man of ſixty to talk of entering on a new ſcene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumſtances and new men muſt ariſe, as well as new occaſions, which are not like to happen in our time. So that the *Diſſenters* have no game left at preſent, but to ſecure their *indulgence*: In order to which, I will be ſo bold to offer them ſome advice.

Firſt, That until ſome late proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, ſo great a majority as there is now againſt them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies; but diſperſe themſelves, and lie dormant againſt ſome better opportunity. I have ſhewn they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly loſe none by its fall, unleſs through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the Queen; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined intereſt of thoſe who have uſed her ſo ill, and by a due reſpect to the perſons ſhe is pleaſed to truſt at preſent with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when ſtruggling can do them no good, and may poſſibly hurt them; what is left, but to be ſilent and paſſive?

Secondly,

Secondly, Although there be no law (beſides that of God Almighty) againſt *occaſional conformity*, it would be prudence in the *Diſſenters* to uſe it as tenderly as they can: For beſides the infamous hypocriſy of the thing itſelf, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy neceſſary. And after all they have ſaid to juſtify themſelves in this point, it ſtill continues hard to conceive, how thoſe conſciences can pretend to be ſcrupulous, upon which an employment hath more power than the love of unity.

In the *laſt* place, I am humbly of opinion, that the *Diſſenters* would do well to drop that *leſſon* they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehenſions that the *Tories* are in the intereſt of the *Pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the firſt opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worſt grace in the world that they offer to join in the cry upon this article: As if thoſe who *alone* ſtood in the gap againſt all the encroachments of *Popery* and *arbitrary power*, are not more likely to keep out both, than a ſet of *ſchiſmatics*, who, to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meaneſt compliances, encourage and ſpirit up that unfortunate Prince to fall upon ſuch meaſures, as muſt at laſt have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P. S. I wiſh thoſe who give themſelves the trouble to write to the *Examiner*, would conſider whether what they ſend be proper for ſuch a paper

per to take notice of. I had one letter laſt week, written, as I ſuppoſe, by a divine, to deſire I would offer ſome reaſons againſt a bill now before the parliament for *aſcertaining the tythe of hops*; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, eſpecially the poor *vicars*. If it be as he ſays (and he ſeems to argue very reaſonably upon it) the *convocation* now ſitting, will, no doubt, upon due application, repreſent the matter to the Houſe of Commons; and he may expect all juſtice and favour from that *great body*, who have already appeared ſo tender of their *rights*.

A gentleman likewiſe, who hath ſent me ſeveral letters relating to perſonal hardſhips he received from ſome of the late miniſtry, is adviſed to publiſh a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

N° 37. Thurſday, April 19. 1711.

Semper cauſæ eventorum magis movent quam ipſa eventa.

I AM glad to obſerve, that ſeveral among the *Whigs* have begun very much to change their language of late. The ſtyle is now, among the reaſonable part of them, when they meet a man in buſineſs, or a member of parliament; "Well, gentlemen, if you go on as you have "hitherto done, we ſhall no longer have any pre-"tence to complain." They find, it ſeems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in

in the *Pretender*, nor any preparatory ſtep towards it. They read no enſlaving votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the ſubject. The indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preſerved, and not the leaſt whiſper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to ſupport the war; ſupplies chearfully granted, and funds readily ſubſcribed to, in ſpite of the little arts made uſe of to diſcredit them. The juſt reſentments of ſome, which are laudable in themſelves, and which at another juncture it might be proper to give way to, have been ſoftened or diverted by the calmneſs of others. So that, upon the article of preſent management, I do not ſee how any objection of weight can be well raiſed.

However, our adverſaries ſtill alledge, that this great ſucceſs was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view: That in public affairs we ought leaſt of all others to judge by events: That the attempt of changing a miniſtry, during the difficulties of a long war, was raſh and inconſiderate: That if the Queen were diſpoſed, by her inclinations, or from any perſonal diſlike, for ſuch a change, it might have been done with more ſafety in a time of peace: That if it had miſcarried by any of thoſe incidents, which in all appearance might have intervened, the conſequences would perhaps have ruined the whole confederacy; and therefore, however it hath now ſucceeded, the experiment was too dangerous to try.

But this is what we can by no means allow them.

them. We never will admit raſhneſs or chance to have produced all this harmony and order. It is viſible to the world, that the ſeveral ſteps towards this change were ſlowly taken, and with the utmoſt caution. The *movers* obſerved as they went on, how matters would bear; and advanced no farther at firſt, than ſo as they might be able to ſtop or go back, if circumſtances were not mature. Things were grown to ſuch a height, that it was no longer the queſtion, whether a perſon who aimed at an employment, were a *Whig* or *Tory*; much leſs whether he had merit or proper abilities for what he pretended to: He muſt owe his preferment only to the favourites; and the crown was ſo far from *nominating*, that they would not allow it a *negative*. This the Queen was reſolved no longer to endure; and began to break into their *preſcription*, by beſtowing one or two places of conſequence without conſulting her *ephori*, after they had fixed them for others, and concluded as uſual, that all their buſineſs was to ſignify their pleaſure to her Majeſty. But although the perſons the Queen had choſen were ſuch, as no objection could well be raiſed againſt upon the ſcore of party, yet the *oligarchy* took the alarm; their ſovereign authority was, it ſeems, called in queſtion; they grew into anger and diſcontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated. All former obligations to their ſovereign now became cancelled; and they put themſelves upon the foot of people,

who are hardly uſed after the moſt eminent ſervices.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politics, will agree, that a prince thus treated by thoſe he hath moſt confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himſelf as ſoon as poſſible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; becauſe from the monſtrous encroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition he cannot tell how long it may continue to be ſo. And it will be found upon inquiring into hiſtory, that moſt of thoſe princes, who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to ſtruggle, until they were quite ſunk.

The *Whigs* are every day curſing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and inſatiable covetouſneſs of a *certain perſon*, as the cauſe of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that *one ſingle removal* might have ſet all things right. But the intereſts of that *ſingle perſon* were found upon experience ſo complicated and woven with the reſt by *love*, by *awe*, by *marriage*, by *alliance*, that they would rather confound heaven and earth, than diſſolve ſuch an union.

I have always heard and underſtood, that a king of England, poſſeſſed of his people's hearts, at the head of a free parliament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that ſuch a monarch ought

to

to do; and purſued the real intereſt of himſelf and his kingdom. Will they allow her Majeſty to be in thoſe circumſtances at preſent? And was it not plain by the addreſſes ſent from all parts of the iſland, and by the viſible diſpoſition of the people, that ſuch a parliament would undoubtedly be choſen? And ſo it proved, without the court's uſing any arts to influence elections.

What people then are theſe in a corner, to whom the conſtitution muſt truckle? If the whole nation's credit cannot ſupply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legiſlature to a few *retailers* of money, it is high time we ſhould ſue for a peace. What new maxims are theſe, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wiſe inſtitution would ever allow? Muſt our laws from henceforward paſs the Bank and Eaſt-India Company, or have their *royal aſſent* before they are in force?

To hear ſome of thoſe worthy reaſoners talking of *Credit*, that ſhe is ſo nice, ſo ſqueamiſh, ſo capricious, you would think they were deſcribing a lady troubled with vapours, or the cholic, to be removed only by a *courſe of ſteel*, or *ſwallowing a bullet*. By the narrowneſs of their thoughts, one would imagine they conceived the world to be no wider than Exchange-alley. It is probable *they* may have ſuch a ſickly dame among them; and it is well if ſhe hath no worſe diſeaſes, conſidering what hands ſhe paſſes through. But the *National Credit* is of another complection; of

ſound health, and an even temper, her life and exiſtence being a quinteſſence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom: And we find theſe *money-politicians*, after all their noiſe, to be of the ſame opinion by the court they paid her, when ſhe lately appeared to them in the form of a *lottery*.

As to that mighty error in politics they charge upon the Queen, for changing her miniſtry in the height of a war, I ſuppoſe it is only looked upon as an error under a *Whiggiſh adminiſtration*; otherwiſe the late King had much to anſwer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late miniſtry, of *famous memory*, was brought in during the preſent war; only with this circumſtance, that two or three of the chief did firſt change their own principles, and then took in ſuitable companions.

But however, I ſee no reaſon why the *Tories* ſhould not value their wiſdom by events, as well as the *Whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, raſh counſel than that of *altering the coin* at the juncture it was done; yet the prudence of the undertaking was ſufficiently juſtified by the ſucceſs. Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the attempt was neceſſary, becauſe the whole ſpecies of money was ſo grievouſly clipped and counterfeited: And is not her Majeſty's authority as ſacred as her coin? And hath not that been moſt ſcandalouſly clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

It is another grievous complaint of the *Whigs*, that

that their late friends, and the whole party, are treated with abundance of ſeverity in print, and in particular by the *Examiner*. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of re-eſtabliſhing themſelves, their infirmities ſhould be ſo often diſplayed in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to ſet forth in their papers of the week; and it is humourous enough to obſerve one page taken up in railing at the *Examiner*, for his invectives againſt a diſcarded miniſtry, and the other ſide filled with the falſeſt and vileſt abuſes againſt thoſe who are now in the higheſt power and credit with their ſovereign, and whoſe leaſt breath would ſcatter them into ſilence and obſcurity. However, although I have indeed often wondered to ſee ſo much licentiouſneſs taken and connived at, and am ſure it would not be ſuffered in any other country of Chriſtendom; yet I never once invoked the aſſiſtance of the *gaol* or *pillory*, which, upon the leaſt provocation, was the uſual ſtyle during their tyranny. There hath not paſſed a week theſe twenty years without ſome malicious paper ſcattered in every coffee-houſe by the emiſſaries of that party, whether it were *down* or *up*. I believe they will not pretend to object the ſame thing to us: Nor do I remember any conſtant weekly paper with reflections on the late miniſtry or *junto*. They have many weak defenceleſs parts; they have not been uſed to a regular attack, and

therefore it is that they are ſo ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn. So that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their lies and malice, for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear obſerving upon this occaſion, that thoſe worthy authors, I am ſpeaking of, ſeem to me not fairly to repreſent the ſentiments of their party; who, in diſputing with us, do generally give up ſeveral of the late miniſtry, and freely own many of their failings. They confeſs the monſtrous *debt upon the navy* to have been cauſed by moſt ſcandalous miſmanagement; they allow the *inſolence of ſome*, and the *avarice of others*, to have been inſupportable: But theſe gentlemen are moſt liberal of their praiſes to thoſe perſons, and upon thoſe very articles, where their wiſeſt friends give up the point. They gravely tell us, that *ſuch a one* was the moſt faithful ſervant that ever any prince had; *another*, the moſt dutiful; a *third*, the moſt generous; a *fourth*, of the greateſt integrity: So that I look upon theſe champions rather as retained by a *cabal*, than a *party*; which I deſire the reaſonable men among them would pleaſe to conſider.

N° 38. Thurſday, April 26. 1711.

Indignum eſt in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur, diſcedi a legibus.

I HAVE been often conſidering how it comes to paſs, that the dexterity of mankind in evil ſhould

ſhould always out-grow not only the prudence and caution of private perſons, but the continual expedients of the wiſeſt laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to poſſeſs a greater ſhare of natural wit or genius than an honeſt man. I have known very notable ſharpers at play, who, upon all occaſions, were as great dunces as human ſhape can well allow; and, I believe, the ſame might be obſerved among the other knots of thieves and pick-pockets about this town. The propoſition however is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred inſtances. A ſcrivener, an attorney, a ſtock-jobber, and many other *retailers of fraud*, ſhould not only be able to over-reach others much wiſer than themſelves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made againſt them. I ſuppoſe the reaſon of this may be, that as the aggreſſor is ſaid to have generally the advantage of the *defender;* ſo the makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have uſually not ſo much induſtry or vigour as thoſe whoſe intereſt leads them to attack it. Beſides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the public for their juſtice and virtue; neither do thoſe who act upon ſuch principles, expect any recompence until the next world: Whereas fraud, where it ſucceeds, gives preſent pay; and this is allowed the greateſt ſpur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to ſtop ſome growing evil, the wits of thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to break it with ſecrecy or impunity, are immediately at work;

work; and even among thoſe who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they would not be thought to violate. They deſire to reap the advantage if poſſible without the ſhame, or at leaſt without the danger. This art is what I take the dextrous race of men, ſprung up ſoon after the Revolution, to have ſtudied with greater application ever ſince, and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of ſome Romiſh caſuiſts, they have found out *quam prope ad peccatum ſine peccato poſſint accedere;* they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will juſt forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be ſufficient to ſet you right, and put ſomething in your pocket beſides; how much, to a penny, you may ſafely cheat the Queen, whether forty, fifty, or ſixty *per cent.* according to the ſtation you are in, and the diſpoſitions of the perſons in office below and above you. They have computed the price you may ſecurely take to give for a place, or what part of the ſalary you ought to reſerve: They can diſcreetly diſtribute five hundred pounds in a ſmall borough, without any danger from the ſtatutes againſt bribing elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand; ſo that you ſhall not know whom to accuſe: They can win a thouſand guineas at play in ſpite of the dice, and ſend away the loſer ſatisfied. They can paſs the moſt exorbitant accounts,

accounts, over-pay the creditor with half his demands, and ſink the reſt.

It would be endleſs to relate, or rather indeed impoſſible to diſcover the ſeveral arts, which curious men have found out to enrich themſelves by defrauding the public in defiance of the law. The military men, both by ſea and land, have equally cultivated this moſt uſeful ſcience: Neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other ſex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an inſtance, that would make ours bluſh to be ſo far outdone.

Beſides, to confeſs the truth, our laws themſelves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of our beſt poſſeſſion, liberty. Some years ago the ambaſſador of a great prince * was arreſted, and outrages committed on his perſon in our ſtreets, without any poſſibility of redreſs from Weſtminſter-hall, or the prerogatives of the ſovereign; and the legiſlature was forced to provide a remedy againſt the like evils in time to come. A commiſſioner of the ſtamped paper was lately diſcovered to have notoriouſly cheated the public of great ſums for many years, by counterfeiting the ſtamps, which the law hath made capital: but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cauſe that ſaved his life; and that additional heightening circumſtance of betraying his truſt was found to be a legal defence. I am aſſured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at Portſmouth,

* Peter the Great, Czar of Moſcovy.

mouth, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by any law now in force, be punished in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. Nay, what is almost incredible, had Guiscard * survived his detestable attempt upon Mr Harley's person, all the inflaming circumstances of the fact would not have sufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have punished him with death; and the public must have lain under this *dilemma*, either to condemn him by a law *ex post facto*, (which would have been of dangerous consequence, and from an ignominious precedent), or undergo the mortification to see the greatest villain upon earth escape unpunished, to the infinite triumph and delight of *Popery* and *faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that of all the insolences offered to the Queen since the act of indemnity (at least that ever came to my ears) I can hardly instance above two or three, which by the letter of the law could amount to high-treason.

From these defects in our laws, and the want of some discretionary power, safely lodged, to exert upon emergencies, as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of those laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the public are so seldom redressed. But besides, no individual suffers by any wrong he doth to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by

* He died of the wounds he received. *Hawkes.*

by doing it. There are ſeven or eight millions, who contribute to the loſs, while the whole gain is ſunk among a few. The damage ſuffered by the public is not ſo immediately or heavily felt by particular perſons; and the zeal of proſecutions is apt to drop and be loſt among numbers.

But imagine a ſet of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game viſibly their own, and by conſequence acting with great ſecurity; may not theſe be ſometimes tempted to forget their caution by length of time, by exceſs of avarice and ambition, by the inſolence or violence of their nature, or perhaps by a mere contempt for their adverſaries? May not ſuch motives as theſe put them often upon actions directly againſt the law, ſuch as no evaſions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing intereſt, whenever they are out of power? It is anſwered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuſe the late miniſtry their due praiſes; who foreſeeing a ſtorm, provided for their own ſafety by two admirable expedients, by which, with great prudence, they have eſcaped the puniſhments due to pernicious counſels and corrupt management. The firſt was to procure, under pretences hardly ſpecious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The ſecond was yet more refined: Suppoſe, for inſtance, a counſel is to be purſued, which is neceſſary to carry on the dangerous deſigns of a prevailing party, to preſerve them in power, to gratify the unmeaſurable

rable appetite of a few *leaders* civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation; this counſel, deſperate in itſelf, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an addreſs, which makes it look like the ſenſe of the nation. Under that ſhelter they carry on the work, and lie ſecure againſt after-reckonings.

I muſt be ſo free to tell my meaning in this; that, among other things, I underſtand it of the addreſs made to the Queen about three years ago, to deſire that her Majeſty would not conſent to a peace, without the entire reſtitution of Spain. A proceeding which, to people abroad, muſt look like the higheſt ſtrain of temerity, folly, and gaſconade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can eaſily comprehend the depth and myſtery of it. They were aſſured by this means to pin down the war upon us; conſequently to increaſe their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties on the Queen and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be ſhaken, whenever they ſhould find themſelves diſpoſed to reverſe their addreſs, and give us leave to wiſh for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monſtrous ſtep in politics, I would aſk him, what we muſt do, in caſe we find it impoſſible to recover Spain? Thoſe among the *Whigs* who believe a God, will confeſs that the events of war lie in his hands; and the reſt of them,

them, who acknowledge no ſuch power, will allow, that fortune hath too great a ſhare in the good or ill ſucceſs of military actions to let a wiſe man reaſon upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If Providence ſhall think fit to refuſe ſucceſs to our arms, with how ill a grace, with what ſhame and confuſion, ſhall we be obliged to recant that precipitate addreſs, unleſs the world will be ſo charitable to conſider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes; and that by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumſtances, it is very poſſible for our iſland to be repreſented ſometimes by thoſe who have the leaſt pretenſions. So little truth or juſtice there is in what ſome pretend to advance, that the actions of former ſenates ought always to be treated with reſpect by the latter; that thoſe aſſemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another: By which argument, the parliament that began the rebellion againſt K. Charles I. voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with reſpect.

But to return from this digreſſion; it is very plain, that, conſidering the defectiveneſs of our laws, the variety of caſes, the weakneſs of the prerogative, the power, or the cunning of ill-deſigning men, it is poſſible that many great abuſes may be viſibly committed, which cannot be legally puniſhed; eſpecially if we add to this, that ſome inquiries might probably involve thoſe whom, upon other accounts, it is not thought

convenient to diſturb. Therefore it is very falſe reaſoning, eſpecially in the management of public affairs, to argue that men are innocent, becauſe the law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to ſupply ſuch defects as theſe, that ſatire was firſt introduced into the world; whereby thoſe, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of puniſhment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be with-held by the ſhame of having their crimes expoſed to open view in the ſtrongeſt colours, and themſelves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by ſuch hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but, next to taming or binding a ſavage animal, the beſt ſervice you can do the neighbourhood, is to give them warning either to arm themſelves, or not to come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any ſigns of remorſe from the leaders of that faction, I ſhould very gladly have changed my ſtyle, and forgot, or paſſed by their million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of diſcovering their impotent zeal and malice: Witneſs their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, beſides that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things deſperate, that themſelves may be thought neceſſary. While they continue in this frantic mood, I ſhall not forbear to treat them as they deſerve; that is to ſay, as the inveterate, irreconcileable enemies to our country and its conſtitution.

N° 39. Thurſday, May 3. 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?

THERE have been certain topics of reproach liberally beſtowed for ſome years paſt by the *Whigs* and *Tories* upon each other. We charge the former with a deſign of deſtroying the *eſtabliſhed church*, and introducing *fanaticiſm* and *free-thinking* in its ſtead. We accuſe them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the preſent form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or ſome new ſcheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other ſide, their clamours againſt us may be ſummed up in thoſe three formidable words, *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *Pretender*. Our accuſations againſt them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts; ſuch as their perpetually abuſing the whole body of the clergy, their declared contempt for the very order of prieſthood, their averſion againſt Epiſcopacy, the public encouragement and patronage they gave to Tindal, Toland, and other atheiſtical writers; their appearing as profeſſed advocates retained by the Diſſenters, excuſing their ſeparation, and laying the guilt of it to be the obſtinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the teſt, and the ſetting up the indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences as a point of greater importance than the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The regard they bear to our *monarchy* hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *mar-*

tyrdom of K. Charles I. in their Calve's-head Clubs, their common diſcourſes, and their pamphlets; their denying the unnatural war raiſed againſt that prince, to have been a rebellion; their juſtifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their induſtry in publiſhing and ſpreading ſeditious and republican tracts, ſuch as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney of Government, and many others; their endleſs lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her Majeſty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *Pretender*, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear; however thoſe important words having, by dextrous management, been found of mighty ſervice to the cauſe, although applied with little colour either of reaſon or juſtice; I have been conſidering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to *Popery*, which is the firſt of theſe; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any ſet of men among us, except the profeſſors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here; but the queſtion is, whether the principles and practices of us or the *Whigs*, be moſt likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the boſom of the Catholic church, one of the chief was to ſend Jeſuits, and other emiſſaries, in lay-habits; who, perſonating *tradeſmen* and *mechanics*, ſhould mix

mix with the people, and, under the pretence of a further and purer *reformation*, endeavour to divide us into as many ſects as poſſible; which would either put us under the neceſſity of returning to our old errors to preſerve *peace* at home; or by our *diviſions* make way for ſome powerful neighbour, with the aſſiſtance of the Pope's permiſſion and a conſecrated banner, to *convert* and *enſlave* us at once. If this hath been reckoned good politics (and it was the beſt the *Jeſuit ſchools* could invent) I appeal to any man, whether the *Whigs*, for many years paſt, have not been employed in the very ſame work? They profeſſed on all occaſions, that they knew no reaſon why any one ſyſtem of *ſpeculative opinions* (as they term the doctrines of the church) ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law, more than another; or why employments ſhould be confined to the religion of the magiſtrate, and that called the *church eſtabliſhed*. The grand maxim they laid down was, that no man, for the ſake of a few *notions* and *ceremonies*, under the names of *doctrine* and *diſcipline*, ſhould be denied the liberty of ſerving his country; as if places would go a-begging, unleſs *Browniſts*, *Familiſts*, *Sweet-ſingers*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Muggletonians*, would take them off our hands.

I have been ſometimes imagining this ſcheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to ſee half a dozen *Sweet-ſingers* on the bench in their ermines, and two or three *Quakers* with their white ſtaves at court. I can only ſay, this pro-

ject is the very counter-part of the late K. James's deſign, which he took up as the beſt method for introducing his *own religion* under the pretext of an *univerſal liberty of conſcience*, and that no difference in religion ſhould make any in his favour. Accordingly, to ſave appearances, he dealt ſome employments among *Diſſenters* of moſt denominations; and what he did was no doubt in purſuance of the beſt advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church thought it the moſt dangerous ſtep he could take for her deſtruction. It is true K. James admitted *Papiſts* among the reſt, which the *Whigs* would not: But this is ſufficiently made up by a material circumſtance, wherein they ſeem to have much outdone that prince, and to have carried their *liberty of conſcience* to a higher point, having granted it to all the claſſes of *Free-thinkers* (which the nice conſcience of a *Popiſh prince* would not give him leave to do) and were therein mightily overſeen; becauſe it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow ſtep from *atheiſm* to the other extreme, *ſuperſtition*. So that upon the whole, whether the *Whigs* had any real deſign of bringing in *Popery* or no, it is very plain that they took the moſt effectual ſtep towards it; and if the *Jeſuits* had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, or have found apter ſcholars.

Their ſecond accuſation is, that we encourage and maintain *arbitrary power* in princes; and promote *enſlaving doctrines* among the people. This they

they go about to prove by inſtances, producing the particular opinions of certain divines in K. Charles II's reign, a decree of Oxford Univerſity, and ſome few writers ſince the *Revolution*. What they mean is the principle of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which thoſe who affirm, did, I believe, never intend ſhould include *arbitrary power*. However, although I am ſenſible that it is not reckoned prudent in a diſpute to make any conceſſions without the laſt neceſſity; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion, ſome writers did carry that tenet of *paſſive obedience* to a height which ſeemed hardly conſiſtent with the liberties of a country, whoſe laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without the conſent of the whole people; I mean not thoſe who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legiſlature; but ſuch as fix it entirely in the prince's perſon. This laſt hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the *Whigs* quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abſtracted from their ſenate.

By thus freely declaring my own ſentiments of *paſſive obedience*, it will at leaſt appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occaſion pretend to ſpeak their ſentiments, but my own. The majority of the two Houſes, and the preſent miniſtry (if thoſe be a party) ſeem to me in all their proceedings to purſue the real intereſt of church and ſtate; and if I ſhould happen to differ from particular perſons among them

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in a ſingle notion about government, I ſuppoſe they will not upon that account explode me and my paper. However, as an anſwer once for all to the tedious ſcurrilities of thoſe idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write; I muſt here inform them, that their *cenſure* is an effect of their *principles*. The preſent miniſtry are under no neceſſity of employing proſtitute pens; they have no dark deſigns to promote by advancing *heterodox opinions*.

But, to return; ſuppoſe two or three private divines under K. Charles II. did a little overſtrain the *doctrine of paſſive obedience* to princes; ſome allowance might be given to the memory of that *unnatural rebellion* againſt his father, and the diſmal conſequences of *reſiſtance*. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the Revolution, that this doctrine was never deſigned to introduce *arbitrary power*.

I look upon the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* to be exactly of the ſame political faith; let us therefore ſee, what ſhare each of them had in advancing *arbitrary power*. It is manifeſt, that the *Fanatics* made Cromwell the moſt abſolute tyrant in Chriſtendom. The *Rump* aboliſhed the *Houſe of Lords*, the *Army* aboliſhed the *Rump*, and by this army of *ſaints* he governed. The *Diſſenters* took liberty of conſcience and employments from the late K. James, as an acknowledgment of his *diſpenſing power;* which makes a king of England as abſolute as the Turk. The *Whigs* under the late King perpetually declared for keeping up a ſtand-

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ing army in times of peace; which hath in all ages been the firſt and great ſtep to the ruin of liberty. They were beſides diſcovering every day their inclinations to deſtroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies againſt the biſhops ſitting in the *Houſe of Peers*, which was exactly copying after their predeceſſors of *forty-one*. I need not ſay, their real intentions were to make the King abſolute; but whatever be the deſigns of innovating men, they uſually end in a tyranny, as we may ſee by an hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy, mentioned by Machiavel.

In the third place, the *Whigs* accuſe us of a deſign to bring in the *Pretender*: and to give it a greater air of probability, they ſuppoſe the Queen to be a party in this deſign; which however is no very extraordinary ſuppoſition in thoſe who have advanced ſuch ſingular paradoxes concerning Greg and Guiſcard. Upon this article their charge is general. without ever offering to produce an inſtance. But I verily think and believe it will appear no paradox, that, if ever he be brought in, the *Whigs* are his men. For, firſt, it is an undoubted truth, that, a year or two after the *Revolution*, ſeveral leaders of that party had their pardons ſent them by the late K. James; and had entered upon meaſures to reſtore him on account of ſome diſobligations they received from K. William. Beſides, I would aſk, whether thoſe who are under the greateſt ties of gratitude

titude to K. James, are not at this day become the moſt zealous *Whigs?* and of what party thoſe are now who kept a long correſpondence with St Germains?

It is likewiſe very obſervable of late, that the *Whigs* upon all occaſions profeſs their belief of the Pretender's being no *impoſtor*, but a real *prince*, born of the late Queen's body; which, whether it be true or falſe, is very unſeaſonably advanced, conſidering the weight ſuch an opinion muſt have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the Pretender himſelf puts his chief hopes in the friendſhip he expects from the *Diſſenters* and *Whigs*, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were moſt in credit; and he had reaſon to count upon the former, from the gracious treatment they received from his ſuppoſed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But further, what could be more conſiſtent with the *Whiggiſh* notion of a *revolution-principle*, than to bring in the Pretender? A *revolution-principle*, as their writings and diſcourſes have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually diſpoſing men to *revolutions*: And this is ſuitable to the famous ſaying of a great *Whig*, *That the more revolutions the better*; which, how odd a maxim ſoever in appearance, I take to be the true characteriſtic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain *revolutions* he lies down to *reſt*: But heads under the dominion of the *moon* are for perpetual

perpetual *changes* and perpetual *revolutions:* beſides, the *Whigs* owe all their wealth to *wars* and *revolutions;* like the girl at Bartholomew-fair, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with ſwords in her hands.

To conclude; the *Whigs* have a natural faculty of bringing in *pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at laſt. How many *pretenders* to wit, honour, nobility, politics, have they brought in theſe laſt twenty years? In ſhort, they have been ſometimes able to procure a majority of *pretenders* in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a *Pretender* at their head.

N° 40. Thurſday, May 10. 1711.

Dos eſt magna parentum virtus.

I TOOK up a paper * ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe; and if the correctneſs of the ſtyle, and a ſuperior ſpirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I ſhould have been apt to imagine I had been reading an *Examiner*. In this paper there were ſeveral important propoſitions advanced. For inſtance, That "Providence raiſed up Mr Harley to be an inſtrument of great "good in a very critical juncture, when it was "much wanted." That his "very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities and diſtinguiſhing

* The Speaker's congratulation of Mr Harley, in the name of the Houſe, on his eſcape and recovery. See the next number. *Hawkeſ.*

" guiſhing merit, by their unwearied and reſtleſs " endeavours againſt his perſon and reputation;" that " they have had an inveterate malice againſt " both; that he hath been wonderfully preſer- " ved from SOME unparalleled attempts;" with more to the ſame purpoſe. I immediately computed by rules of arithmetic, that in the laſt-cited words there was ſomething more intended than the attempt of Guiſcard, which, I think, can properly paſs but for *one* of the SOME. And although I dare not pretend to gueſs the author's meaning; yet the expreſſion allows ſuch a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, moſt readers, both *Whig* and *Tory*, have agreed with me, that this plural number muſt in all probability, among other facts, take in the buſineſs of Greg.

See now the difference of ſtyles. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occaſion; inſtead of ſaying how Mr Harley was *treated by ſome perſons*, and *preſerved from ſome unparalleled attempts*, I ſhould with intolerable bluntneſs and ill-manners have told a formal ſtory of a committee ſent to a condemned criminal in Newgate to bribe him with a pardon, on condition he would ſwear high-treaſon againſt his maſter, who diſcovered his correſpondence and ſecured his perſon, when a *certain grave politician* had given him warning to make his eſcape: And by this means I ſhould have drawn a whole ſwarm of hedge-writers to exhauſt their catalogue of ſcurrilities againſt me, as a liar and a ſlanderer.

But

But with ſubmiſſion to the author of that forementioned paper, I think he hath carried that expreſſion to the utmoſt it will bear; for after all this noiſe, I know of but *two attempts* againſt Mr Harley, that can really be called *unparalleled*, which are thoſe aforeſaid of Greg and Guiſcard; for as to the reſt, I will engage to *parallel* them from the ſtory of Catiline, and others I could produce.

However I cannot but obſerve, with infinite pleaſure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with ſo many decent epithets, hath been ſufficiently confirmed at ſeveral times by the reſolutions of one or the other Houſe of parliament. I may therefore now ſay, I hope with good authority, that *there hath been ſome unparalleled attempts againſt Mr Harley;* that the late miniſtry were juſtly to blame in ſome managements, which occaſioned the unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the diſappointment at Thoulon; that the public hath been grievouſly wronged by moſt notorious frauds during the *Whig adminiſtration;* that thoſe who adviſed the bringing in the Palatines were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly paſſed their accounts for a great part of thirty-five millions, and ought not to be truſted in ſuch employments any more. Perhaps in a little time, I may venture to affirm ſome other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the ſame vouchers. And

perhaps alſo, if it had not been ſo buſy a period, inſtead of one Examiner, the late miniſtry might have had above four hundred, each of whoſe little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of Neptune's threat to the winds:

Quos ego—ſed motos præſtat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the ſons of Æolus had almoſt ſunk the ſhip with the tempeſts they raiſed, it was neceſſary to ſmooth the ocean, and ſecure the veſſel, inſtead of purſuing the offenders.

But I obſerve the general expectation at preſent, inſtead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures who is to be puniſhed for paſt miſcarriages, ſeems bent upon the rewards intended to thoſe who have been ſo highly inſtrumental in reſcuing our conſtitution from its late danger. It is the obſervation of Tacitus in the life of Agricola, that his eminent ſervices had raiſed a general opinion of his being deſigned by the Emperor for Prætor of Britain: *Nullis in hoc ſuis ſermonibus, ſed quia par videbatur;* and then he adds, *Non ſemper errat Fama, aliquando et eligit.* The judgment of a wiſe prince, and the general diſpoſition of the people, do often point at the ſame perſon; and ſometimes the popular wiſhes do even foretel the reward intended for ſome ſuperior merit. Thus, among ſeveral deſerving perſons, there are *two* whom the public vogue hath in a peculiar manner ſingled out as deſigned very ſoon to receive the choiceſt marks of the royal favour. *One* of them to be placed in a very high

high ſtation, and *both* to increaſe the number of our nobility *. This, I ſay, is the general conjecture; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled; ſince it is enough for their honour that the nation thinks them worthy of the greateſt rewards.

Upon this occaſion I cannot but take notice, that of all the hereſies in politics, profuſely ſcattered by the partizans of the *late adminiſtration*, none ever diſpleaſed me more, or ſeemed to have more dangerous conſequences to *monarchy*, than that pernicious talent ſo much affected, of diſcovering a contempt for *birth*, *family*, and *ancient nobility*. All the thread-bare topics of *poets* and *orators* were diſplayed to diſcover to us, that *merit* and *virtue* were the only *nobility*; and that the advantages of *blood* could not make a *knave* or a *fool* either honeſt or wiſe. Moſt popular commotions we read of in the hiſtories of Greece and Rome took their riſe from unjuſt quarrels to the *nobles*; and in the latter, the *plebeians* encroachments on the *patricians* were the firſt cauſe of their ruin.

Suppoſe there be nothing but *opinion* in the difference of blood, every body knows, that *authority* is very much founded on *opinion*. But ſurely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of chuſing the beſt companions to converſe with, not being under the neceſſity of practiſing little mean tricks by a ſcanty allowance, the enlarging of thought,

* Harley and St John.

and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of anceſtors inciting to great and good actions; theſe are uſually ſome of the opportunities that fall in the way of thoſe who are born of what we call the better families: and allowing *genius* to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their ſide. Nay, we may obſerve in ſome, who by the appearance of merit, or favour of fortune, have riſen to great ſtations from an obſcure birth, that they have ſtill retained ſome ſordid vices of their *parentage* or *education*, either *inſatiable avarice*, or *ignominious falſehood* and *corruption*.

To ſay the truth, the great neglect of education in ſeveral noble families, whoſe ſons are ſuffered to paſs the moſt improveable ſeaſons of their youth in vice and idleneſs, have too much leſſened their reputation: But even this misfortune we owe, among all the reſt, to that *Whiggiſh* practice of reviling the *univerſities*, under the pretence of their inſtilling *pedantry*, *narrow principles*, and *high-church doctrines*.

I would not be thought to undervalue *merit* and *virtue*, where-ever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the higeſt dignities in a ſtate, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghill; but however, that is not the moſt probable place to ſearch for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a man of quality without *merit* is juſt ſo much the worſe for his quality; which at once ſets his vices in a more

more public view, and reproacheth him for them. But on the other ſide, I doubt thoſe, who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating perſonal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully ſatisfied with, and which no-body will diſpute with them about; whereas they cannot without impudence and folly pretend to be nobly born; becauſe this is a ſecret too eaſily diſcovered: for no man's parentage is ſo nicely inquired into as that of aſſuming upſtarts, eſpecially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do, or behave themſelves with inſolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this ſubject, whoſe philoſophical ſcorn for *blood* and *families* reacheth even to thoſe that are *royal*, or perhaps took its riſe from a *Whiggiſh* contempt of the latter; I am pleaſed to find *two* ſuch inſtances of extraordinary merit as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, hath been held in veneration by all wiſe polite ſtates both ancient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more obſervable in thoſe who riſe to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty ſolicitude to convince the world that they are not ſo low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by ſome ſtrained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. Cromwell himſelf was pleaſed with the impudence of a flatterer, who

undertook to prove him deſcended from a branch of the royal ſtem. I know a *citizen* who adds or alters a letter in his name with every *plumb* he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel * to be allied to a ſovereign prince in Italy †; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a *miſtake* of the graver upon his *tomb-ſtone*.

When I am upon this ſubject of *nobility*, I am ſorry for the occaſion given me to mention the loſs of a *perſon*, who was ſo great an ornament to it, as the late Lord Preſident ‡; who began early to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the *public ſervice*, and paſſed through the higheſt employments of ſtate, in the moſt difficult times, with great *abilities* and untainted *honour*. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from *late infuſions*, but were inſtilled into him by his illuſtrious father, and other noble ſpirits, who had expoſed their lives and fortunes for the Royal Martyr:

——————Pulcherrima proles,
Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.

His firſt great action was, like Scipio, to defend his father when oppreſſed by numbers; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a ſon, who, upon the like occaſion, would have ſhewn the ſame reſolution. No man ever preſerved his dignity better when he was out of power, nor ſhewed more affability while he was in. To conclude, his character (which

* Sir H. Furneſe. † Farneſe. ‡ Earl of Rocheſter.

(which I do not here pretend to draw) is ſuch as his neareſt friends may ſafely truſt to the moſt impartial pen; nor wants the leaſt of that allowance which, they ſay, is required for thoſe who are dead.

N° 41. Thurſday, May 17. 1711.

——Quem cur diſtringere coner,
Tutus ab infeſtis latronibus?

I NEVER let ſlip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the preſent miniſtry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I firſt undertook this paper, I firmly reſolved, that if ever I obſerved any groſs neglect, abuſe, or corruption in the public management, which might give any juſt offence to reaſonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldneſs which becometh an honeſt man, and a true lover of his country; at the ſame time preſerving the reſpect due to perſons ſo highly entruſted by ſo wiſe and excellent a Queen. I know not how ſuch a liberty might have been reſented; but I thank God there hath been no occaſion given me to exerciſe it; for I can ſafely affirm, that I have with the utmoſt rigour examined all the actions of the preſent miniſtry, as far as they fall under general cognizance, without being able to accuſe them

them of one ill or miſtaken ſtep. Obſerving indeed ſome time ago, that ſeeds of diſſention had been plentifully ſcattered from a *certain corner*, and fearing they began to riſe and ſpread, I immediately writ a paper on the ſubject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required; but the prudence of thoſe at the helm ſoon prevented this growing evil: And at preſent it ſeems likely to have no conſequences.

I have had indeed for ſome time a ſmall occaſion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconſiderable for a formal ſubject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at preſent to as great a height, as a matter of that nature can poſſibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual ſtop ſhould be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiouſneſs of ſeveral weekly papers, which for ſome months paſt have been chiefly employed in bare-faced ſcurrilities againſt thoſe who are in the greateſt truſt and favour with the Queen, with the firſt and laſt letters of their names frequently printed, or ſome *periphraſis* deſcribing their ſtation, or other *innuendos* contrived too plain to be miſtaken. The conſequence of which is (and it is natural it ſhould be ſo) that their long impunity hath rendered them ſtill more audacious.

At this time I particularly intend a paper called the Medley, whoſe indefatigable inceſſant railings againſt me I never thought convenient to take notice of, becauſe it would have diverted my

deſign,

deſign, which I intended to be of public uſe. Beſides, I never yet obſerved that writer, or thoſe writers (for it is every way a Medley) to argue againſt any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how ſoon the world grows weary of controverſy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at leaſt have been joined at times in that worthy compoſition; but the outlines, as well as the finiſhing, ſeem to have been always the work of the ſame pen, as it is viſible from half a ſcore beauties of ſtyle inſeparable from it. But who theſe *medlers* are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I ſhall never go about to conjecture: Factious rancour, falſe wit, abandoned ſcurrility, impudent falſehood, and ſervile pedantry, having ſo many fathers, and ſo few to own them, that Curioſity herſelf would not be at the pains to gueſs. It is the firſt time I ever did myſelf the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occaſion likely to happen that would make it neceſſary for me to engage with ſuch an adverſary. This paper is weekly publiſhed, and, as appears by the number, hath been ſo for ſeveral months; and is, next to the *Obſervator*, allowed to be the beſt production of the party. Laſt week my printer brought me that of May 7. N° 32. where there are two paragraphs relating to the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, and to Mr Harley, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with ſuch an antagoniſt, I cannot

cannot let paſs without failing in my duty to the public: And if thoſe in power will ſuffer ſuch infamous inſinuations to paſs with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country in the world.

I deſire to open this matter, and leave the *Whigs* themſelves to determine upon it. The Houſe of Commons reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the ſpeaker ſhould congratulate Mr Harley's eſcape and recovery in the name of the Houſe, upon his firſt attendance on their ſervice. This is accordingly done; and the ſpeech, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, are printed by order of the Houſe. The author of the *Medley* takes this ſpeech to taſk the very next week after it is publiſhed; telling us in the foreſaid paper, that the "ſpeaker's commending Mr "Harley for being an *inſtrument of great good to* "*the nation*, was ill-choſen flattery; becauſe Mr "Harley had brought the nation under great dif-"ficulties, to ſay no more." He ſays, "That "when the ſpeaker tells Mr Harley," *that Providence hath wonderfully preſerved him from ſome unparalleled attempts* (for that the Medley alludes to) "he only revives a falſe and groundleſs calumny "upon other men; which is an inſtance of im-"potent, but inveterate malice that makes him "*(the ſpeaker)* ſtill appear more vile and con-"temptible." This is an extract from his firſt paragraph. In the next this writer ſays, "That "the ſpeaker's praying to God for the continu-"ance of Mr Harley's life, as an invaluable bleſ-

ſing,

" ſing, was a fulſome piece of inſincerity, which " expoſes him to ſhame and deriſion; becauſe he " is known to bear ill-will to Mr Harley, to have " an extreme bad opinion of him, and to think " him an obſtructor of thoſe fine meaſures he " would bring about."

I now appeal to the *Whigs* themſelves, whether a great miniſter of ſtate, in high favour with the Queen, and a ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, were ever publicly treated after ſo extraordinary a manner in the moſt licentious times? For this is not a clandeſtine libel ſtolen into the world, but openly printed and ſold with the bookſeller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr Harley is generally believed upon the very point to be made an Earl, and promoted to the moſt important ſtation of the kingdom; nay, the very marks of eſteem he hath ſo lately received from the whole repreſentative body of the people, are called " ill-choſen flattery, and a fulſome " piece of inſincerity, expoſing the *donors* to " ſhame and deriſion."

Does this intrepid writer think he hath ſufficiently diſguiſed the matter by that ſtale artifice of altering the ſtory, and putting it as a ſuppoſed caſe? Did any man, who ever ſaw the congratulatory ſpeech, read either of thoſe paragraphs in the *Medley* without interpreting them juſt as I have done? Will the author declare upon his great ſincerity, that he never had any ſuch meaning? Is it enough, that a jury at Weſtminſter-

Weſtminſter-hall would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the ſpeaker and Mr Harley in that paper? Which however, I am much in doubt of too; and muſt think the law very defective, if the reputation of ſuch perſons muſt lie at the mercy of ſuch pens. I do not remember to have ſeen any libel, ſuppoſed to be writ with caution and double meaning in order to prevent proſecution, delivered under ſo thin a cover, or ſo unartificially made up as this, whether it were from an apprehenſion of his reader's dulneſs, or an effect of his own. He hath tranſcribed the very phraſes of the ſpeaker, and put them in a different character, for fear they might paſs unobſerved, and to prevent all poſſibility of being miſtaken. I ſhall be pleaſed to ſee him have recourſe to the old evaſion, and ſay, that I who make the application am chargeable with the abuſe: Let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear aſſerting as my opinion, that for a miniſtry to endure ſuch open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deſerving it. And this is an omiſſion I venture to charge upon the preſent miniſtry, who are too apt to deſpiſe little things, which however have not always little conſequences.

When this paper was firſt undertaken, one deſign among others was, to *examine* ſome of thoſe writings ſo frequently publiſhed with an evil tendency either to religion or government; but I was long diverted by other inquiries, which I thought more immediately neceſſary: To animadvert

madvert upon mens actions, rather than their ſpeculations; to ſhew the neceſſity there was of changing the miniſtry, that our conſtitution in church and ſtate might be preſerved; to expoſe ſome dangerous principles and practices under the former adminiſtration; and prove, by many inſtances, that thoſe who are now at the helm are entirely in the true intereſt of prince and people. This, I may modeſtly hope, hath, in ſome meaſure, been already done, ſufficient to anſwer the end propoſed, which was to inform the ignorant, and thoſe at a diſtance, and to convince ſuch as are engaged in party from no other motive than that of conſcience. I know not whether I ſhall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps ſome time may be ſpent in expoſing and overturning the falſe reaſonings of thoſe who engage their pens on the other ſide, without loſing time in vindicating myſelf againſt their ſcurrilities, much leſs in retorting them. Of this ſort there is a certain humble companion, a French *maitre des langues* *, who every month publiſheth an extract from votes, news-papers, ſpeeches, and proclamations, larded with ſome inſipid remarks of his own; which he calls, *The political ſtate of Great-Britain*. This ingenious piece, he tells us himſelf, is conſtantly tranſlated into French, and printed in Holland, where the Dutch no doubt conceive moſt noble ſentiments of us, conveyed through ſuch a vehicle. It is obſervable in his

* One Abel Boyer.

account for April, that the vanity ſo predominant in many of his nation hath made him more concerned for the honour of Guiſcard, than the ſafety of Mr Harley. And for fear we ſhould think the worſe of his country upon that *aſſaſſin's* account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villanies committed in England than any other part of the world. I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither maſter of our language, or indeed of common ſenſe; and who is devoted to a faction, I ſuppoſe for no other reaſon, but his having more *Whig* cuſtomers than *Tories*, ſhould take it into his head to write politic tracts of our affairs. But I preſume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his inſolence in one of his former monthly productions: Which is a method that ſeldom fails of giving ſome vogue to the fooliſheſt compoſition. If ſuch a work muſt be done, I wiſh ſome tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not ſuffer a little whiffling Frenchman to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and preſume to inſtruct foreigners in our politics.

N° 42. Thurſday, May 24. 1711.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædeſque labentes deorum ;——

SEVERAL letters have been lately ſent me, deſiring I would make honourable mention of the pious deſign of building fifty churches in ſeveral parts of London and Weſtminſter, where they are moſt wanted, occaſioned by an addreſs of the *convocation* to the Queen, and recommended by her Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons; who immediately promiſed they *would enable her to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign*, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this ſeſſion; at which time I propoſed to deliver a particular account of the great and uſeful things already performed by this preſent parliament. But in compliance to thoſe who give themſelves the trouble of adviſing me; and partly convinced by the reaſons they offer, I am content to beſtow a paper upon a ſubject that indeed ſo well deſerveth it.

The clergy, and whoever elſe have a true concern for the conſtitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleaſed with one proſpect in this new ſcene of public affairs. They may very well remember the time, when every ſeſſion of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads; and if it happened to paſs without burſting into

ſome ſtorm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it an happy eſcape until the next meeting; upon which we reſumed our ſecret apprehenſions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered, the parliament takes the neceſſities of the church into conſideration, receives the propoſals of the clergy met in convocation, and amidſt all the exigencies *of a long expenſive war*, and *under the preſſure of heavy debts*, find a ſupply for erecting fifty edifices for the ſervice of God. And it appears by the addreſs of the Commons to her Majeſty upon this occaſion (wherein they diſcovered a true ſpirit of religion) that applying the money granted *to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign*, would, in their opinion, be the moſt effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to uſe their own words) "be a means of drawing down bleſſings "on her Majeſty's undertakings, as it adds to the "number of thoſe places, where the prayers of "her devout and faithful ſubjects will be daily "offered up to God for the proſperity of her go-"vernment at home, and the ſucceſs of her arms "abroad."

I am ſometimes hoping, that we are not naturally ſo bad a people as we have appeared for ſome years paſt. *Faction*, in order to ſupport itſelf, is generally forced to make uſe of ſuch abominable inſtruments, that as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is overpreſſed, and cannot appear to exert itſelf; but when that is broken and ſuppreſſed, when things return to the old courſe,

courſe, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reaſon and religion. The Romans, upon a great victory or eſcape from public danger, frequently built a temple in honour of ſome god, to whoſe peculiar favour they imputed their ſucceſs or delivery; and ſometimes the general did the like, *at his own expence*, to acquit himſelf of ſome pious vow he had made. How little of any thing reſembling this hath been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps for that reaſon, among others, they have turned to ſo little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and therefore it was conſiſtent to offer up our edifices only to *thoſe* whom we looked upon as *givers of all victory* in his ſtead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at ſix thouſand pounds for a church, which is ſomewhat under the price of a *ſubject's palace;* yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thouſand ſouls, with the benefit of their prayers for the proſperity of their Queen and country, may be almoſt put in the balance with the domeſtic convenience, or even magnificence of any *ſubject* whatſoever.

Sir William Petty, who, under the name of Captain Graunt, publiſhed ſome obſervations upon the bills of mortality about five years after the *Reſtoration*, tells us the pariſhes in London were even then ſo unequally divided, that ſome were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time the increaſe of trade, the frequency of

parliaments, the deſire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the *fire*, and hath ever ſince continued, have prodigiouſly enlarged this town on all ſides, where it was capable of increaſe; and thoſe tracts of land built into ſtreets, have generally continued of the ſame pariſh they belonged to while they lay in fields; ſo that the care of above thirty thouſand ſouls hath been ſometimes committed to one miniſter, whoſe church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock: neither, I think, was any family in thoſe pariſhes obliged to pay above a groat a-year to their ſpiritual paſtor. Some few of thoſe pariſhes have been ſince divided, in others were erected chapels of eaſe, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor ſhifts and expedients, to the infinite ſhame and ſcandal of ſo vaſt and flouriſhing a city, have been thought ſufficient for the ſervice of God and religion, as if they were circumſtances wholly indifferent.

This defect, among other conſequences of it, hath made *ſchiſm* a ſort of neceſſary evil; there being at leaſt three hundred thouſand inhabitants in this town whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever ſo well diſpoſed: And in a city not overſtocked with zeal, the only way to preſerve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as eaſy and cheap as poſſible; whereas, on the contrary, in the larger pariſhes, the preſs is ſo great, and the pew-keepers tax ſo exorbitant,

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that thoſe who love to ſave trouble and money, either ſtay at home, or retire to the *conventicles*. I believe there are few examples, in any Chriſtian country, of ſo great a neglect of religion; and the diſſenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, *ſowing tares among the wheat while men ſlept*, being much more expert at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And to ſay truth, the way practiſed by ſeveral pariſhes in and about this town, of maintaining their clergy by voluntary ſubſcriptions, is not only an indignity to the character, but hath many pernicious conſequences attending it; ſuch a precarious dependence ſubjecting a clergyman, who hath not more than ordinary ſpirit and reſolution, to many inconveniencies, which are obvious to imagine; but this defect will no doubt be remedied by the wiſdom and piety of the preſent parliament, and a tax laid upon every houſe in a pariſh, for the ſupport of their paſtor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a houſe whoſe purchaſe is not reckoned above one-third leſs than land of the ſame yearly rent, ſhould not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half a tythe) to the ſupport of the miniſter. One thing I could wiſh, that in fixing the maintenance to the ſeveral miniſters in theſe new intended pariſhes, no determinate ſum of money may be named, which in all perpetuities ought by any means to be avoided, but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each houſe, although it be

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but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in ſeveral pariſhes of the city after the *fire*, where the incumbent and his ſucceſſors were to receive for ever a certain ſum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a-year. But the lawgivers did not conſider, that what we call at preſent one hundred pounds will not in proceſs of time have the intrinſic value of twenty; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty ſhillings three hundred years ago. There are a thouſand inſtances of this all over England in reſerved rents applied to hoſpitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themſelves, in thoſe payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no prince had ever better diſpoſitions than her preſent Majeſty for the advancement of true religion; ſo there never was any age that produced greater occaſions to employ them on. It is an unſpeakable misfortune, that any deſign of ſo excellent a Queen ſhould be checked by the neceſſities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of *modern politicians* have involved us in, againſt all the maxims whereby our country flouriſhed ſo many hundred years; elſe her Majeſty's care of religion would certainly have reached even to her American plantations. Thoſe noble countries, ſtocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until ſome better care be taken for cultivating Chriſtianity among them. If the

governors

governors of thoſe ſeveral colonies were obliged at certain times to tranſmit an exact repreſentation of the ſtate of religion in their ſeveral diſtricts, and the legiſlature here would, in time of leiſure, take that affair under their conſideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her Majeſty's reign.

But, to wave further ſpeculations upon ſo remote a ſcene, while we have ſubjects enough to employ them on at home; it is to be hoped the clergy will not ſlip any proper opportunity of improving the pious diſpoſitions of the Queen and kingdom for the advantage of the church; when by the example of times paſt, they conſider how rarely ſuch conjectures are like to happen. What if ſome method were thought on towards repairing of churches: For which there is like to be too frequent occaſion; thoſe ancient Gothic ſtructures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay. That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections ſeems, in my opinion, not very ſuitable either to the dignity and uſefulneſs of the work, or to the honour of our country; ſince it might be ſo eaſily done, with very little charge to the public, in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are ſo frequently called. But theſe and other regulations muſt be left to a time of *peace*, which I ſhall humbly preſume to wiſh may ſoon be our ſhare, however offenſive it may be to any, either *abroad* or at *home*, who are gainers by the war.

N° 43. Thurſday, May 31. 1711.

Scilicet, ut poſſis curvo dignoſcere rectum.

HAVING been forced in my papers to uſe the cant words of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have ſo often varied their ſignifications for twenty years paſt; I think it neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the ſeveral changes thoſe two terms have undergone ſince that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always underſtood by each of them, ſince I undertook this work. I reckon that theſe ſorts of conceited appellations are uſually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themſelves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cauſe, are conſequently the moſt violent partiſans of what they eſpouſe, and in their quarrels uſually proceed to their beloved argument of calling *names*, until at length they light upon one which is ſure to ſtick: and in time each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adverſaries at firſt intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the Praſini and Veneti, the Guelfs and Gibelines, Hugonots and Papiſts, Round-heads and Cavaliers, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us of late there ſeems to have been a barrenneſs of invention in this point; the words *Whig* and *Tory*, although they be not much above thirty years old, having been preſſed to the ſervice of many ſucceſſions of parties with very different ideas faſtened to them. This diſtinction, I think, began towards the latter part of K. Charles II's reign,

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was dropt during that of his ſucceſſor, and then revived at the *Revolution;* ſince which it hath perpetually flouriſhed, although applied to very different kinds of principles and perſons. In that convention of Lords and Commons, ſome of both Houſes were for a *regency* to the Prince of Orange, with a reſervation of ſtyle and title to the abſent King, which ſhould be made uſe of in all public acts: Others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the ſucceſſion ſhould immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the laſt king were actually dead. And although the diſſenting Lords (in whoſe Houſe the chief oppoſition was) did at laſt yield both thoſe points, took the oaths to the new king, and many of the new employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil eye by the warm zealots of the other ſide; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although ſome of them were of the moſt eminent for abilities and virtue, and ſerved that prince, both in his councils and his army, with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the ſame time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleaſed with the ſcheme of a *regency*, or at leaſt an uninterrupted lineal ſucceſſion, for the ſake of thoſe whoſe conſciences were truly *ſcrupulous;* and they thought there were ſome circumſtances in the caſe of the deprived biſhops, that looked a little hard, or at leaſt deſerved commiſeration.

Theſe

Theſe and other the like reflections, did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of *Whig* and *Tory*.

Some time after the Revolution, the diſtinction of *high* and *low* church came in, which was raiſed by the Diſſenters in order to break the church-party by dividing the members into *high* and *low*; and the opinion raiſed, that the *high* joined with the *Papiſts*, inclined the *low* to fall in with the *Diſſenters*.

And here I ſhall take leave to produce ſome principles, which, in the ſeveral periods of the late reign, ſerved to denote a man of one or the other party. To be againſt a ſtanding army in time of peace was all *high-church*, *Tory*, and *Tantivy*; to differ from a majority of biſhops was the ſame. To raiſe the prerogative above law for ſerving a turn, was *low-church* and *Whig*. The opinion of the majority in the Houſe of Commons, eſpecially of the country party or landed intereſt, was *High-fly* and *rank Tory*. To exalt the king's ſupremacy beyond all precedent, was *low-church*, *whiggiſh*, and *moderate*. To make the leaſt doubt of the pretended Prince's being ſuppoſititious, and a *tiler's* ſon, was, in their phraſe, *top* and *top-gallant*, and *perfect Jacobitiſm*. To reſume the moſt exorbitant grants that were ever given to a ſet of profligate favourites, and apply them to the public, was the very quinteſſence of *Toryiſm*; notwithſtanding thoſe grants were known to be acquired by ſacrificing the honour and the wealth of England.

In

In moſt of theſe principles the two parties ſeem to have ſhifted opinions, ſince their inſtitution under K. Charles II. and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the *Revolution*. But as to that concerning the Pretender, the *Whigs* have ſo far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy: Which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble duke, who was accuſed of a blunder in the Houſe, when, upon a certain Lord's mentioning the *pretended Prince*, his Grace told the Lords "he muſt be "plain with them, and call that perſon not the "pretended Prince, but the pretended Impoſtor:" Which was ſo far from a blunder in that polite Lord, as his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed ſentiments of his whole party.

But to return: This was the ſtate of principles, when the Queen came to the crown; ſome time after which it pleaſed *certain great perſons*, who had been all their lives in the altitude of *Tory* profeſſion, to enter into a treaty with the *Whigs*, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends, who began to be reſty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor conſent to carry on the war entirely at the expence of this nation, that they might have penſions from abroad; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace; whereas the other party, whoſe caſe appeared then as deſperate, was ready to yield

to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a ſacrifice to the unreaſonable appetite of power and wealth in *a very few*, that ſhall be nameleſs, who, in every ſtep they made, acted directly againſt what they had always profeſſed. And if his Royal Highneſs the Prince * had died ſome years ſooner, (who was a perpetual check in their career), it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that time the bulk of the *Whigs* appeared rather to be linked to a certain ſet of *perſons*, than any ſet of *principles;* ſo that if I were to define a member of that party, I ſhould ſay, he was one *who believed in the late miniſtry*. And therefore whatever I have affirmed of *Whigs* in any of theſe papers, or objected againſt them, ought to be underſtood either of thoſe who were partiſans of the late men in power, and privy to their deſigns, or ſuch who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and *Diſſenters* of all ſizes; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption, and dreaded a change, which would not only put a ſtop to further abuſes for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was paſt; or thoſe who had been too highly obliged to quit their ſupporters with any common decency; or laſtly, the *money-traders*, who could never hope to make their markets ſo well of *premiums*, and exorbitant

* Prince George of Denmark.

exorbitant intereſt, and high remittances, by any other adminiſtration.

Under theſe heads may be reduced the whole body of thoſe whom I have all along underſtood for *Whigs:* For I do not include within this number any of thoſe who have been miſled by ignorance, or ſeduced by plauſible pretences, to think better of that ſort of men than they deſerve, and to apprehend mighty dangers from their diſgrace; becauſe I believe the greateſt part of ſuch well-meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

And indeed it muſt be allowed, that the two fantaſtic names of *Whig* and *Tory* have at preſent very little relation to thoſe opinions, which were at firſt thought to diſtinguiſh them. Whoever formerly profeſſed himſelf to approve the *Revolution*, to be againſt the Pretender, to juſtify the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, to think the Britiſh monarchy not abſolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not diſpenſe with, and to allow an indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences; ſuch a man was content to be called a *Whig*. On the other ſide, whoever aſſerted the Queen's hereditary right, that the perſons of princes were ſacred, their lawful authority not to be reſiſted on any pretence; nor even their uſurpations, without the moſt extreme neceſſity; that breaches in the ſucceſſion were highly dangerous; that *ſchiſm* was a great evil both in itſelf and its conſequences; that the ruin of the *church* would probably be attended

with that of the *ſtate*; that no power ſhould be truſted with thoſe who are not of the eſtabliſhed religion; ſuch a man was uſually called a *Tory*. Now, although the opinions of both theſe are very conſiſtent, and I really think are maintained at preſent by a great majority of the kingdom; yet according as men apprehend the danger greater, either from the *Pretender* and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other *enemies* to the conſtitution; ſo their common diſcourſes and reaſonings turn either to the firſt or ſecond ſet of theſe opinions I have mentioned, and they are conſequently ſtyled either *Whigs* or *Tories*. Which is as if two *brothers* apprehended their houſe would be ſet upon, but diſagreed about the place from whence they thought the *robbers* would come, and therefore would go on different ſides to defend it; they muſt needs weaken and expoſe themſelves by ſuch a *ſeparation*; and ſo did we, only our caſe was worſe; for in order to keep off a *weak remote enemy*, from whom we could not ſuddenly apprehend any danger, we took a *nearer* and a *ſtronger* one into the *houſe*. I make no compariſon at all between the two enemies; *Popery* and *ſlavery* are without doubt the greateſt and moſt dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of theſe have not, at leaſt ſince the *Revolution*, been ſo cloſe and preſſing upon us as that from *another faction*; excepting only one ſhort period, when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicated king to return; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having

Having thus declared, what ſort of perſons I have always meant under the denomination of *Whigs*, it will be eaſy to ſhew whom I underſtand by *Tories*. Such whoſe principles in church and ſtate are what I have above related; whoſe actions are derived from thence, and who have no attachment to any ſet of *miniſters*, further than as they are friends to the conſtitution in all its parts; but will do their utmoſt to ſave their prince and country, *whoever* beat the helm.

By theſe deſcriptions of *Whig* and *Tory*, I am ſenſible thoſe names are given to ſeveral perſons very undeſervedly; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the leaſt title to the blame or praiſe I have beſtowed on each of them throughout my papers.

N° 44. Thurſday, June 7. 1711.

Magna vis eſt, magnum nomen, unum et idem ſentientis ſenatus.

WHOEVER calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealouſies, the ſhameful miſrepreſentation of perſons and of things, that were raiſed and ſpread by the leaders and inſtruments of a *certain party*, upon the change of the laſt miniſtry and diſſolution of parliament; if he be a true lover of his country, muſt feel a mighty pleaſure, although mixed with ſome indignation, to ſee the wiſhes, the conjectures, the endeavours of an inveterate faction entirely diſappointed; and this

important period wholly ſpent in reſtoring the prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the ſubject; in reforming paſt abuſes and preventing future, ſupplying old deficiencies, providing for debts, reſtoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the neceſſities of the church; and all this unattended with any of thoſe misfortunes which ſome men *hoped* for, while they pretended to *fear*.

For my own part, I muſt confeſs, the difficulties appeared ſo great to me from ſuch a noiſe and ſhew of oppoſition, that I thought nothing but the abſolute neceſſity of affairs could ever juſtify ſo daring an attempt. But a wiſe and good prince, at the head of an able miniſtry, and of a ſenate freely choſen, all united to purſue the true intereſt of their country, is a power, againſt which the little inferior politics of any faction will be able to make no long reſiſtance. To this we may add one additional ſtrength, which, in the opinion of our adverſaries, is the greateſt and juſteſt of any; I mean the *vox populi*, ſo indiſputably declarative on the ſame ſide. I am apt to believe, when theſe diſcarded politicians begin ſeriouſly to conſider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reſerve their wiſdom for ſome more convenient juncture.

It is pleaſant enough to obſerve, that thoſe who were the chief inſtruments of raiſing the noiſe, who ſtarted fears, beſpoke dangers, and formed ominous prognoſtics, in order to ſcare the *allies*, to ſpirit the French, and fright ignorant

norant people at home, made uſe of thoſe very opinions themſelves had broached, for arguments to prove, that the change of miniſters was dangerous and unſeaſonable. But if a houſe be *ſwept*, the more occaſion is there for ſuch a work, the more *duſt* it will raiſe; if it be going to *ruin*, the *repairs*, however neceſſary, will *make a noiſe*, and *diſturb the neighbourhood* a while. And as to the rejoicings made in France, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of theſe alterations among us; their joy was grounded upon the *ſame hopes* with that of the *Whigs*, who comforted themſelves that the change of miniſtry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confuſion, increaſe our diviſions, and deſtroy our credit, wherein I ſuppoſe by this time they are equally undeceived.

But this long ſeſſion being in a manner ended, which ſeveral circumſtances, and one *accident* altogether unforeſeen, have drawn out beyond the uſual time; it may be ſome ſmall piece of juſtice to ſo excellent an aſſembly barely to mention a few of thoſe great things they have done for the ſervice of their Queen and country, which I ſhall take notice of juſt as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to ſuffer by a diſcount upon Exchequer bills, which have been generally reckoned the ſureſt and moſt ſacred of all ſecurities. The preſent Lord Treaſurer, then a member of the Houſe of Commons, propoſed a method, which was immediately

ately complied with, of raiſing them to a *par* with *ſpecie*; and ſo they have ever ſince continued.

The Britiſh colonies of Nevis and St Chriſtopher's had been miſerably plundered by the French, their houſes burned, their plantations deſtroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away priſoners; they had often, for ſome years paſt, applied in vain for relief from hence; until the preſent parliament, conſidering their condition as a caſe of juſtice and mercy, voted them one hundred thouſand pounds by way of recompence in ſome manner for their ſufferings.

Some perſons, whom the voice of the nation authorizeth me to call her *enemies*, taking advantage of the general naturalization act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions, under the name of *Palatines*, who underſtood no trade or handicraft, yet rather choſe to beg than labour; who, beſides infeſting our ſtreets, bred contagious diſeaſes, by which we loſt in natives thrice the number of what we gained in foreigners. The Houſe of Commons, as a remedy againſt this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which, to the ſurpriſe of moſt people, was rejected by the Lords. And upon this occaſion I muſt allow myſelf to have been juſtly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; wherein the Commons being diſappointed, took care however to ſend many of the *Palatines* away,

away, and to repreſent their being invited over as a pernicious counſel.

The *qualification bill*, incapacitating all men to ſerve in parliament, who have not ſome eſtate in land either in poſſeſſion or certain reverſion, is perhaps the greateſt ſecurity that ever was contrived for preſerving the conſtitution, which otherwiſe might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the *monied* intereſt. And ſince much the greateſt part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land or from its productions, it is but common juſtice, that thoſe, who are the proprietors, ſhould appoint what portion of it ought to go to the ſupport of the public; otherwiſe the engroſſers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themſelves never touch with one of their fingers.

The public debts were ſo prodigiouſly increaſed by the negligence and corruption of thoſe, who had been managers of the revenue, that the late miniſters, like careleſs men who run out their fortunes, were ſo far from any thoughts of payment, that they had not the courage to ſtate or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine millions. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer *, ſuitable to his tranſcendent genius for public affairs, propoſed a fund to be ſecurity for that immenſe debt, which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to

* Earl of Oxford

to prove the greateſt reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legiſlature hath appointed commiſſioners of accompts, to inſpect into paſt miſmanagements of the public money, and prevent them for the future.

I have, in a former paper, mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in London and Weſtminſter, with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjuſt to conceal my Lord High Treaſurer's concern for religion, which hath extended even to another kingdom, his Lordſhip having ſome months ago obtained of her Majeſty the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy of Ireland, as he is known to have before done to that reverend body here *.

The act for carrying on a trade to the South-ſea, propoſed by the ſame great perſon, whoſe thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with ſucceſs, on the good of his country, will, in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlaſting honour to the preſent parliament.

I might go on further, and mention that ſeaſonable law againſt exceſſive gaming; the putting a ſtop to that ſcandalous fraud of falſe muſters in the guards; the diligent and effectual inquiry made by the Commons into ſeveral groſs abuſes. I might produce many inſtances of their impartial juſtice in deciding controverted elections

* See the author's letters to Archbiſhop King.

tions againſt *former example*, and great provocations to retaliate. I might ſhew their chearful readineſs in granting ſuch vaſt ſupplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the Queen; and laſtly, that repreſentation made to her Majeſty from the Houſe of Commons, diſcovering ſuch a ſpirit and diſpoſition in that noble aſſembly to redreſs all thoſe evils, which a long mal-adminiſtration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that truſting only to my memory I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend further in the compaſs of this paper, than to give the world ſome general, however imperfect, idea how worthily this great aſſembly hath diſcharged the truſt of thoſe, who ſo freely choſe them; and what we may reaſonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wiſdom, and loyalty of ſuch excellent patriots, in a time ſo fruitful of occaſions to exert the greateſt abilities.

And now I conceive the main deſign I had in writing theſe papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the Queen proceeded with the higheſt wiſdom in changing her miniſtry and parliament; that under a former adminiſtration the greateſt abuſes of all kinds were committed, and the moſt dangerous attempts againſt the conſtitution for ſome time intended. The whole kingdom find the preſent perſons in power directly

and

and openly purſuing the true ſervice of their Queen and country; and to be ſuch, whom their moſt bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetouſneſs, ambition, pride, inſolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, thoſe little barking curs, which have ſo conſtantly purſued me, I take to be of no further conſequence to what I have written, than the ſcoffing ſlaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no ſtop or diſturbance in the ſhow. However, if thoſe perpetual ſnarlers againſt me had the ſame deſign, I muſt own they have effectually compaſſed it; ſince nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the ſame ſpecies with creatures capable of uttering ſo much ſcurrility, dulneſs, falſehood, and impertinence, to the ſcandal and diſgrace of human nature.

N° 45. Thurſday, June 14. 1711.

Melius non tangere clamo.

WHEN a general hath conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often findeth it neceſſary to ſend out ſmall bodies, in order to take in petty caſtles and forts; and beat little ſtraggling parties, which are otherwiſe apt to make head and infeſt the neighbourhood.

This

This caſe reſembleth mine. I count the main body of the *Whigs* entirely ſubdued; at leaſt, until they appear with new reinforcements, I ſhall reckon them as ſuch; and therefore do now find myſelf at leiſure to *examine* inferior abuſes. The buſineſs I have left, is to fall on thoſe wretches who would ſtill be keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining, but their bare good-will towards *faction* and *miſchief*; I mean the preſent ſet of writers, whom I have ſuffered, without moleſtation, ſo long to infeſt the town. If there were not a concurrence from prejudice, party, weak underſtanding, and miſrepreſentation, I ſhould think them too inconſiderable in themſelves to deſerve correction: But as my endeavour hath been to expoſe the groſs impoſitions of the *fallen party*, I will give a taſte, in the following petition, of the ſincerity of their *factors*; to ſhew how little thoſe writers for the *Whigs* were guided by conſcience or honour, their buſineſs being only to gratify a private intereſt.

To the Right Honourable the preſent Miniſtry, the humble Petition of the Party-writers of the late Miniſtry,

Humbly ſheweth,

"THAT your petitioners have ſerved their "time to the trade of writing *pamphlets* and *week-*"*ly papers*, in defence of the *Whigs*, againſt the

" church of England, and the Chriſtian religion,
" and her Majeſty's prerogative, and title to the
" crown: That, ſince the late change of her mi-
" niſtry, and meeting of this parliament, the
" ſaid trade is mightily fallen off, and the call
" for the ſaid pamphlets and papers much leſs
" than formerly; and it is feared, to our further
" prejudice, that the *Examiner* may diſcontinue
" writing; whereby ſome of your petitioners will
" be brought to utter diſtreſs; for as much as,
" through falſe quotations, noted abſurdities,
" and other legal abuſes, many of your petition-
" ers, to their great comfort and ſupport, were
" enabled to pick up a weekly ſubſiſtence out of
" the ſaid *Examiner*.

" That your ſaid poor petitioners did humbly
" offer your honours to write in defence of the
" late change of miniſtry and parliament, much
" cheaper than they did for your predeceſſors:
" which your honours were pleaſed to refuſe.

" Notwithſtanding which offer, your petition-
" ers are under daily apprehenſion, that your
" honours will forbid them to follow the ſaid
" trade any longer, by which your petitioners,
" to the number of fourſcore, with their wives
" and families, will inevitably ſtarve; having
" been bound to no other calling."

" Your petitioners deſire your Honours will
" tenderly conſider the premiſes, and ſuffer
" your ſaid petitioners to continue their
" trade (thoſe who ſet them at work, being
" ſtill willing to employ them, although at
" lower

" lower rates) and your ſaid petitioners will
" give ſecurity to make uſe of the ſame ſtuff,
" and dreſs it in the ſame manner, as they
" always did, and no other.
" And your petitioners," &c.

It is a certain ſign, that a man is in the right when he raiſeth all the ſcribblers againſt him: I have ſometimes had it in my head to write a particular hiſtory of abuſes and corruptions. As I find myſelf at leiſure this ſummer, I ſhall purſue the deſign; where, beſides enumerating the groſs defect, not only of duty and reſpect to the moſt gracious Queen that ever reigned; I propoſe to ſhew in every article, how wrong all things were managed under the late miniſtry; how right they are now, and according to the conſtitution. Such a hiſtory would be the beſt means, not only to expoſe the principal actors; but the weekly hirelings who toil in their defence; who are ſo notoriouſly diſingenuous, ſo diſtant from matter of fact, ſo ſhort of that ſpirit and entertainment which too often mingle with ſuch pens as dip only in falſities; that, if I were to rake into their particular abſurdities (an attempt which they are ſecured from by their exceſſive dulneſs; I ſhould have reaſon to look upon my ſufferings little ſhort of the merit of that Roman, who, by leaping into a bottomleſs gulph, ſacrificed his life to preſerve his country.

I have been often wondering how it comes to paſs, that the late men in power ſhould be ſo ill

provided with writers; conſidering at what full leiſure the heads and leaders of them are, and I hope will ever be; they might certainly have made a wiſer and more judicious collection. If, as ſome imagine, their own hands have dipt in ink, and that they themſelves have a ſhare in dreſſing up the *Medley* and *Obſervator*; it is a plain diſcovery, that their ſpeculations are as mean and low as their practices: For, how can we conceive that the politeneſs and ſound judgment of one, ſhould ever deſcend to Billingſgate, pedantry, and nonſenſe? or that a ſecond, who oweth his reputation of wit to his neighbours, ſhould every day make his court officiouſly to a certain great miniſter, and yet once a-week ſo clumſily abuſe him in his writings? When I conſider the factious ſpirit (if any ſpirit they have) of theſe papers, I can hardly look for the author of them in one, who, by what means ſoever better convinced, had once ſo much of that ſort of loyalty as to profeſs himſelf a *Nonjuror*.

With humble ſubmiſſion to worſe judgments, I muſt determine that the author of the *Medley* is a dunce out of his element; pretending to intermeddle with *raillery* and *irony*, wherein he hath no manner of taſte or underſtanding: His topic of raillery may be all reduced under thoſe two words, QUOTH HE; which he ſeldom faileth, in any one of his papers, to be arch with. His *irony* conſiſteth of the words, MY FRIEND, although ſometimes relieved with an epithet. Doth he think that when he ſaith my *impious friend*,

friend, my *ſtupid friend*, and the like; ſaith it in every paper, and often a dozen times in one; that this is either wit, humour, or ſatire? If I were *impious* or *ſtupid*, I ſhould really hope to be his friend, and think he ſpoke in earneſt. *Irony* is not a work for ſuch groveling pens, but extreme difficult, even to the beſt; it is one of the moſt beautiful ſtrokes of *rhetoric*, and which aſketh a maſter-hand to carry on and finiſh with ſucceſs: But when a bungler attempteth beyond his ſkill; what was at firſt miſhapen, with aukward poliſhing, becometh entirely deformed: As the falſe beauty of paint upon a lady's face is leſs deſirable than no beauty at all; and the pertneſs of a ſhallow fop, more diſagreeable than his ſilence.

I ſhould not have deſcended ſo much below the dignity of this paper, as to regard the courſe of theſe muddy writers, did not the heads of the late faction ſtill endeavour to corrupt the minds of weak people, who are at a diſtance from the metropolis, by their diligence and liberality in circulating theſe weekly poiſons *gratis*. Great numbers are conſtantly ſent into the country, to prepoſſeſs the reader againſt the *Examiner*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they would ſtill miſlead and prevent their being ſet right in facts, that they might not ſee how well the people did to aſſiſt the church and Queen: To this end they have been forced to make uſe of groſs falſities, without the leaſt appearance of truth: But, however, thoſe more modeſt of their party here, may

bluſh and wonder at the aſſurance of their friends; it ſerves their deſign in the country, where truth arrives late; and ſince the mercy of the government, or rather a juſt contempt, ſtill ſuffers theſe writers to continue theſe efforts, it is not doubted there, but what they deliver is, at leaſt, free from notorious falſehood. But thoſe clouds of ignorance will certainly fly before that light, which now ſhines throughout the nation from the repreſentation offered to her Majeſty, by the beſt Houſe of Commons that ever ſat; who come the neareſt to our happy conſtitution, both in the freedom of their elections, and that true Engliſh ſpirit, which have unanimouſly carried the majority of them through, to the end of this memorable ſeſſions. In which repreſentation the people may be convinced, that five parts in ſix of what the *Examiners* have charged on the late miniſtry and faction are true: which is ſo glorious, ſo unanſwerable a juſtification of theſe papers, that any longer to declaim againſt them, will be as vain and inſignificant, as it hath always been a ridiculous endeavour.

N° 46. Thurſday, June 21. 1711.

Pauca tamen ſuberunt priſcæ veſtigia fraudis.

I Hope my countrymen will believe, that I have a very good occaſion to congratulate with them upon the Queen's ſpeech: All the honeſt part muſt be of opinion, that nothing ever proceeded from the throne more glorious for

for our repreſentatives in parliament, or more gracious and ſatisfactory to the nation. Could there, amidſt that awful aſſembly, be any heart untouched at the voice of ſuch a Queen? Recollecting her piety, the uprightneſs of her life, her unwearied prayers and endeavours for the proſperity of her people; from whoſe intereſts her's were never divided.

Her Majeſty filled every loyal breaſt with joy, when, with her graceful air, and elegant manner of delivery, ſhe told her parliament, "The plea-"ſure ſhe took to ſee the performance of thoſe "promiſes they had made her at the beginning "of the ſeſſions; their complying with her de-"ſire to propagate the ſervice of God, in the "building ſo many new churches: enabling her "to carry on the war; making effectual provi-"ſion for paying thoſe debts, which were almoſt "grown an inſupportable burthen on the public; "when our enemies every where flattered them-"ſelves, that ſupplies for the ſervice of the cur-"rent year could not have been found."

Could any thing be more grateful to true Britiſh ſpirits, who had done their utmoſt towards retrieving our diſorders, than to be applauded for diſappointing the enemies of the nation, *in all reſpects?* Not only by their raiſing greater ſums than ever were granted to any prince, in one ſeſſion; but for reſtoring *public credit*, a bleſſing ſo invaluable, and ſo much deſpaired of by our enemies, that they concluded it impoſſible for the miniſtry and parliament to extricate us out of

thoſe

thoſe amazing difficulties, whereinto we had been plunged And truly, if we impartially conſider the meaſures upon which the late men in power proceeded, we ſhall find it extremely difficult to give any ſatisfactory account to reaſon or policy, for their notorious depeculations, (if my friend the *Medley* will give me leave to make uſe of that word); unleſs, like ſome momentary conquerors, they reſolved to waſte that empire they could not keep.

I am very well aſſured, that the former miniſtry, after a long run of ill huſbandry, were often at their wits-end (until things grew riper for that change they had projected) how to prevent, from breaking all at once upon the public, that report which they knew would ruin their deſigns. The whole government ſubſiſted upon preſent credit, although vaſt ſums were annually given to ſupport the war; which were ſo far from being applied this way, that every year we were plunged more and more in debt: It is true, the parliament voted ſubſidies, and the willing people chearfully paid them, in hopes, by an honourable peace, they ſhould quickly ſee the end of their miſeries and taxes: yet the arrear to the navy, and other charges, ran on; the miniſtry put a good face upon a decaying conſtitution; they employed all their arts to conceal the real diſtreſs we were in; they procured that money ſhould be lent at five *per cent.* whilſt the unhappy creditors were forced to give from 20 to 40 *per cent.* diſcount, for every farthing they

received

received upon the bills aſſigned them by the government. This they very well knew was ſuch ill management, as could not be long concealed; they had ſeparately and prodigiouſly enriched themſelves, to preſerve their wealth and authority; but now they muſt invade the conſtitution. As to their own poſſeſſions, an act of indemnity had ſecured them, and for the reſt, they had little more to riſk, than whether they ſhould remain opulent ſubjects, although without any ſhare in the power; or become maſters, without limitation.

Avarice is ever inſatiable! How then muſt it deſtroy, when it has the wealth of a nation to feed on? The miſeries of the people, the tears and groans of poor ſeamen and their families, were not regarded by theſe devourers; univerſal frauds and abuſes not only winked at, but encouraged; trade not dying, but dead: It is true, public Credit was ſtill alive, but ſubſiſted only upon ſtrong cordials; in utter ignorance of her approaching diſſolution. Yet no one ſtep was made by theſe ſtate-phyſicians towards preventing her apparent deceaſe; much leſs did they take any thought about curing the malady they had occaſioned: They were not ſo void of reaſon as to be ignorant of the condition they had reduced us to; they did know it, and ſtood provided of a remedy to ſecure themſelves (which a little time would perfect to their wiſh) and which all good ſubjects muſt tremble to think on; a remedy a thouſand times worſe than the diſeaſe; where,

where, inſtead of an indulgent, lawful Queen, we muſt have referred to a lawleſs junto, and to an arbitrary captain-general.

But now, God be praiſed, our fears are diſſipated: The Queen is free, and acts entirely according to her own judgment and inclination; the parliament acquieſceth in whatever ſhe requireth: We have proved the happy effects of their mutual confidence; and, as her Majeſty telleth us from the throne, "She ſhall look up-"on any attempt to leſſen it, as a ſtep towards "diſſolving her government."

I could make many uſeful reflections upon the preſent happy change of our condition; the different ſtate of ſecurity to our conſtitution, wherein this ſeſſion hath left us from the fears that poſſeſſed us upon the ending of the laſt; the dread and apprehenſion the majority of the kingdom were then in, leaſt that parliament ſhould ſit any more; the longings and impatiences of the people, until her Majeſty ſhall think fit that thoſe may meet again.

While the ſinking credit of the nation hath been thus retrieved, by the great abilities and induſtry of the preſent miniſtry and parliament; the convocation, no leſs uſefully employed in the cauſe of piety, have drawn up a "repre-"ſentation of the preſent ſtate of religion, with "regard to the late exceſſive growth of infideli-"ty, hereſy, and profaneneſs, unanimouſly a-"greed upon a joint committee of both Houſes "of the province of Canterbury; and afterwards

"rejected

" rejected by the Upper-houſe, but paſſed in " the Lower."

I am ſorry theſe pious labourers ſhould be baffled in their godly endeavours by their own brethren: I have formerly, in two *Examiners*, touched upon the nature of this *ſynod*, and their diviſions, together with the Queen's letter, and deſire to reconcile all differences and diſputes; and hoped to ſee the happy effects of her exhortation. The inferior clergy have proceeded with a ſpirit truly primitive; their repreſentation is writ with ſuch force of eloquence and argument, as muſt warm the coldeſt heart. The narrow compaſs of this paper will not permit me to enumerate all the heads: " They trace the deluge of impiety, " from that long and unnatural rebellion, which " looſened all the bands of diſcipline and order; " whence hypocriſy and enthuſiaſm begat a diſ- " regard for the very appearance of religion; and " ended in a ſpirit of downright libertiniſm and " profaneneſs: Whence adverſaries aroſe, who " openly ſcattered the poiſon of *Arian* and *Soci-* " *nian* hereſies; the Godhead of the Holy Spirit " denied; myſteries exploded, as implying con- " tradictions, and incapable of becoming ob- " jects of aſſent to reaſonable minds, *&c.* From " theſe wicked principles, wicked practices have " followed; frequency of oaths and impreca- " tions; all manner of exceſs and luxury, ga- " ming upon the Lord's day, *&c.*" Upon which I muſt beg leave to ſubjoin, that a certain late great miniſter (in the good company of Sir James

of

of the Peak, and others of the ſame ſort) always made play his Sunday's entertainment.

In this repreſentation we have a melancholy proſpect of the ſtate of our religion: ſuch amazing impieties can be equalled by nothing but by thoſe cities of old deſtroyed by fire from heaven; nor can that deluge of profaneneſs, which overruns the nation, have any check from the pious endeavours of our clergy, whilſt the majority, on one part, continue to diſagree with the other about the manner of putting eſſentials in execution. Mean time, the cauſe of Chriſtianity muſt ſuffer, and our *convocations* ſtill have the diſreputation of doing *nothing*. The *repreſentation* which themſelves have tranſmitted to the Lowerhouſe, is the ſame in very many of the facts: As to the difference of ſtyle and ſpirit, I conceive that doth not relate to the ſervice of religion in general, any more than when I am exceſſive cold, whether I would chuſe to be warmed by a quicker or more languid fire. Nor can I without pleaſure take notice of one paragraph, where they hope, "That eſpecial care will be had of "the education of young people at the univerſi- "ties; that tutors may teach their pupils the "principles of the Chriſtian religion, and endea- "vour to make them ſerious in it; with a parti- "cular eye to all ſuch who are deſigned for holy "orders." Where ſuch reverend prelates are concerned, it were a ſort of ſacrilege to diſpute their ſincerity: After this, dare any perſon imagine that their doctrine and their intentions can

differ;

differ; or that ſo grave and venerable a body, upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion, would deal in *irony*, or explain their meaning by contraries? This muſt doubtleſs convince all ſuch, who have hitherto, upon a wrong interpretation, preſumed to ſquare opinions by theirs, and have, with loud exclamations, ſhewn their abhorrence of an univerſity-education, as tainting our youth with the principles of *loyalty* to ſovereigns; and an implicit obedience to the ſlaviſh doctrines of the church.

As this admonition muſt ſatisfy ſuch who ſurmiſed, that the majority did not approve educating children in the univerſity; ſo the unhappy ſtop that hath been put to the deſigned *repreſentation*, hath given the enemies of our holy religion (too numerous and politic a party to be armed by ourſelves againſt ourſelves) a ſeeming occaſion to deride our diviſions: And, as if thoſe ſolemn proceedings were all but a jeſt, theſe ungodly perſons are not afraid to be merry with the conceit of the Upper-houſe's diſſenting from what five of their own members had before, in a committee, agreed to in the Lower; as if they were acting a religious farce, called, *A convocation and no convocation*; nor will they believe our biſhops can have ſuch concurrent fears of the growth of *impiety*, when they do not proceed in the means that ſhould put an effectual ſtop to it, only for a *form*; or, to uſe the words of our church-adverſaries, until the laſt remaining encroachments be made by the Upper-houſe upon the privileges of the Lower.

Theſe reflections are arrows in the heart of every honeſt church-man; we would recriminate in vain, our enemies flatter themſelves we lie too open for a defence: We muſt therefore be content to wait with *patience* and *prayer*, for a remedy to theſe *misfortunes*, until the *Lord of the harveſt*, in his good time, *ſhall ſeparate the tares from the wheat*.

N° 47. Thurſday, June 26. 1711.

Conſolar ſocios ut longi tædia belli
Mente ferant placida.

I SUPPOSE ſome wit, and much leiſure, have made it a faſhion among ingenious perſons, to ſend letters, by way of aſſiſtance, to us weekly writers. It is eaſy to imagine, that I have had my ſhare of ſuch contributions; for which, although I be very thankful, yet I muſt confeſs, with ſome vanity, that my mind is rather burdened than relieved by thoſe intelligences. If I take notice of ſome, and not of others, I proportionably diſoblige: However, as they fall in my way, I promiſe to do what lieth in my power, towards introducing into the world the works of thoſe *anonymous* perſons who are ſo fond of being authors.

In the firſt place, out of his exceeding zeal to the cauſe, *one* is alarmed at the induſtry of the *Whigs*, in aiming to ſtrengthen their *routed party*, by a reinforcement from the circumciſed; as not contented with *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Free-thinkers*, and

and all ſort of *Chriſtian ſectaries*; beſides a conſiderable number of *apoſtates*, or, if you pleaſe, *deſerters*, from our own body; and therefore recommendeth to me, that ſome care may be taken to put a ſtop to theſe gallimaufry meetings, theſe prohibited conjunctions of Jews and Chriſtians; ſince, in order to bring thoſe infidels within the wide circle of *Whiggiſh* community, neither blandiſhments nor promiſes are omitted; the very women proving acceſſories: As for example, a certain *great Lady*, with ſome beauteous auxiliaries, did not diſdain to grace Sir Solomon Medina's magnificent ball and collation; nor was the young Dutcheſs (although a toaſt of the firſt rate) in the leaſt diſguſted at giving her hand to dance in partnerſhip with a frowzy Jew.

Another perſon ſendeth me a letter, complaining of the ſmall reputation of the Queen's phyſicians; this careful perſon ſeemeth to belong to the church by his expreſſion, where he blames the late miniſtry for imitating Jeroboam, who ordained prieſts out of the loweſt of the people; and confining that ſacred life, the *breath of our noſtrils*, to the charge and care of ſuch men, to whoſe ſlender abilities they would be very far from truſting their own.

The third cometh from a ſufferer under the late *junto*; one, who remaining fully ſatisfied of his own merit, repines that others have not the like valuable eſtimation; and are not expeditious enough in rewarding the ſaid merit: he therefore recommendeth to me a ſubject, neceſſary to

be read by all who have pretenſions, or live in a court, called, " The nature of delay, or the virtues and advantages of procraſtination."

A fourth perſon is ſenſibly piqued, at the *Medley's* popular reflection, " That the Queen's " moſt gracious ſpeech ſhould be printed in *Abel's* " *Poſt-boy*, with this very juſt concluſion: But " we have lived to ſee the day wherein every " thing great and illuſtrious among men is treat- " ed with an unbecoming familiarity: All or- " ders of men muſt expect to be huddled into " the vile multitude; and uſed as if they had not " ſenſe of glory or infamy." My correſpondent inquireth, what devil owes this *writer* and his *party* a ſhame, to make *him* talk of a *day?* That *ſcandalous day!* when inſignificant *pages* and forward *attorney-clerks* were hoiſted above the knowledge of themſelves, or their remembrance of others; not only perverting to their ſeveral uſes the treaſure of the nation, but preſuming to give laws even to their ſovereign; *that* was, indeed, a *day which we have all lived to ſee, when all things, great and illuſtrious among men*, were, by arrogant upſtarts, treated not only *with an unbecoming familiarity*, but with treachery and pride; when it might be truly ſaid, that under ſuch petty and yet arbitrary diſpenſation, *all orders of men were huddled into the vile multitude, and uſed as if they had not ſenſe of glory or infamy.*

The fifth letter recounts a ſcandalous paſſage that happened at the auction of the late Mr Bernard's library; and prayeth me to give all befit-

ting

ting diſcouragement to ſuch enormities: It ſeemeth ſome gentlemen were talking of a ſcarce book, which treated of ſpirits and apparitions; one of them aſked Mr Toland, what he thought of *ghoſts?* Whether he had any belief of ſuch things? He readily anſwered, he was ſo far from believing *ghoſts*, that he did not believe what men call the *Holy Ghoſt*.

The next (whom I ſhall do the favour to ſhew at length, becauſe he calleth himſelf a *Whig*, and may poſſibly charge me with an unfair quotation, if I ſink any part of what he hath wrote) ſends me an invitation to come over to his ſide; but leſt this may be thought *gaſconade*, I had beſt refer to the original letter.

"SIR,

"You have ſtood the ſhock of the ſhallow "writers, aided by the beſt *finiſhers* of our party, "with ſo much reputation, and ſo much to their "confuſion, that I, who have a value for your "perſon and abilities (but an averſion to your "cauſe) adviſe you to renounce the *Tories*, and "come over to *us*. Their buſineſs is done, they "have no more occaſion for your pen; you muſt "therefore expect to be neglected and forgotten, "as your fellow-labourers have been. Whom "have they ever rewarded? They go quite con-"trary to our maxim; none, although ever ſo "undeſerving, have ſuffered impriſonment and "hardſhip for us; but we look on it as our com-"mon intereſt to protect and uphold them, be-

" cauſe we have but *one*, the *Tories* as *many* in-
" tereſts as there are perſons. Beſides, in wri-
" ting for the ſtrongeſt ſide, you have commiſe-
" ration againſt you: nor need your apoſtacy
" fear finding its account, for the reaſons before
" mentioned, and one more very conſiderable,
" which is, that falſe witneſſes are well paid.
" The only objection can be made againſt this
" propoſal, is, you may think, perhaps, you
" have ſo far incenſed us by your many diſcove-
" ries of our *arcana*, that you cannot expect to
" be received with any degree of warmth or con-
" fidence. If this be your opinion, you are a
" great ſtranger to our principles; we never re-
" fuſe to accept an enemy with open arms, when
" we can thereby ſtrengthen our own, or weaken
" our adverſaries party; we are ſo far true poli-
" ticians, that both our love and hatred always
" give way to our intereſt; but beſides, all muſt
" know our own blind ſide, which was never
" proof againſt flattery, how fulſome or unjuſt
" ſoever. How many authors, with no other
" merit, flouriſhed under the late miniſtry! I
" would therefore adviſe you to write a treatiſe,
" which will be very faſhionable and uſeful, cal-
" led, *The art of ſhifting ſides*, and dedicate it in
" theſe, or the like terms."

To

To all honeſt Whig-gentlemen, and virtuous Whig-ladies, in and about the cities and liberties of London and Weſtminſter.

GENTLEMEN *and* LADIES,

" A man who ventures to publiſh bold truths in " theſe days of toryiſm and arbitrary government, " unleſs he hath a powerful intereſt to ſupport " him, muſt expect to be ſcurvily treated by the " perſecuting part of the world: without very " good ſeconds, he may ſhew abundance of zeal, " but little diſcretion; like thoſe knights of old, " who uſed to plunge alone into the midſt of " armed foes. The only difference between the " courage of the hero, and that of the author, " ſeemeth to lie in the ſucceſs: One meeteth " with Tyburn, Newgate, or at beſt a meſſen-" ger; whilſt the other gallantly reſcueth his " miſtreſs, or carrieth off the prize. For this " reaſon I preſume to apply to you for protec-" tion, and I hope to make my future ſervices " atone for my paſt offences. You are too con-" ſiderable, both in number and power, to fear " a defeat; and too zealous of the truth to ſuf-" fer its champion to be borne down and tram-" pled upon by enemies."

" *Gentlemen*, Your very adverſaries cannot deny " but you have more money than they, and con-" ſequently muſt give up the ſuperiority of wit: " And although they have diſputed the point of " honeſty, it appears the balance now lieth en-" tirely on your ſide; witneſs the many unan-

" ſwerable

" ſwerable ſteps you have taken for the good of " the nation, the wonders of your late admini- " ſtration, your reſpect and honour for the true " intereſt of your Queen and country, your con- " cern for the public credit, and your readineſs to " advance money upon great emergencies, where " the ſafety of the ſtate eminently required it."

" *Ladies*, Were your plea to virtue and beauty " leſs evident, you might ſtand more in need of " a champion; but I never heard any who durſt " preſume to ſay, you have more virtue than " beauty, or leſs humility than prudence; you " ſhine in your zeal for the cauſe, and your con- " deſcenſion is ſo bright a part of your character, " that there are few men, how deſpicable ſoever, " but what have found the happy effect of it."

SIR,

" By my intimacy and ſtation among them, I " have ſo exact a knowledge of what will pleaſe, " that I have ſent you this rough draught, which " I will undertake to be the univerſal ſenſe of " our party; only leaving you to model it after " ſuch a manner as you think beſt. I hope, you " will not defer your converſion, but conclude " this a mark of my kindneſs for you. Pray make " your advantage of this advice, and you will very " much rejoice,

SIR,

Your affectionate friend,

and humble ſervant."

N° 48. Thurſday, July 12. 1711.

——Neque ſemper arcum
Tendit Apollo.

IT ſometimes happens that I am either ſick, or lazy, or ſplenetic; and ſometimes perhaps, like other authors of great reputation, I am dull by deſign. In ſuch unlucid intervals it falleth out, that three or four of my papers are inferior to the reſt: however, the credit of the former keeps them up a while; and even judicious people are often prejudiced for a week or two in their favour; or perhaps are ſo candid to expect a better next time. But the majority of readers go on with the ſame appetite, whether the paper be good or bad, until they are taught by their betters what their ſentiments are to be. It thus fareth between me and the *Medley*, who, although he hath been always ſo liberal with his epithets, as if he had them by him ready printed, and had nothing to do every week but fill up the blanks; yet in one or two of his laſt papers he hath outdone himſelf, becauſe ſome-body hath told him that the *Examiner* is grown dull. I fear they have told him truth: And how can it be otherwiſe, when I am deſcended from animadverting upon the corruptions in the late adminiſtration, to be an antagoniſt of his? I had hopes of giving ſome diverſion to the town and myſelf, during this idle ſeaſon of the year, by expoſing the follies of his productions; but find

I have been unhappily infected with the ſtupidity I deſign to ridicule. This *Medlar* is the perfect reverſe of Sir John Falſtaffe; he is not only dull himſelf, but he is alſo the cauſe of dulneſs in other men. However, I think I have found out a way to read his papers from henceforward, without danger to my underſtanding; and therefore I now give him notice, that I deſign to write with wit and ſpirit for ſome time; which otherwiſe he would hardly apprehend until about a month hence.

He hath injured me in ſaying, *I inſult her Majeſty's phyſicians;* I only repeat the words of my correſpondent: if the Queen diſcard her preſent phyſicians, he is at a loſs how we ſhall find *Tories* to ſupply their places; *becauſe*, he aſſureth us, *the* Tories *are as great quacks in ſcience as in politics.* If the trial of quackery muſt be determined by ſkill in politics, I dare appeal to the *Whig* phyſicians themſelves, to decide which are the quacks, and whether the *Tories* of the faculty have not made much better prognoſtics upon the body-politic, by chuſing to adhere to the preſent miniſtry.

And if reſpect to the Queen's perſon be the queſtion, the *Medley* ſure is not well in his wits, to revive the memory of that defect for which ſome of his party have been famous. Suppoſe him really ignorant; upon ever ſo little recollection of any of his friends, he may quickly be informed which ſide have the beſt pretence that way to favour; ſince this writer, and I am glad

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to find it, can admit reverence and duty to her Majeſty are, although late, come to be conſidered as a ſort of merit.

Methinks this perſon, who will be my friend whether I will or no, putteth himſelf and me to much more trouble than he needeth: If he would fairly cavil with me, paper by paper, and then have done, there might be ſome hopes; but without end, I am to be perpetually worried and puniſhed this month for the ſins of the laſt; ſo that it is not properly *this Medley contra that Examiner*, but *every Medley againſt every Examiner:* When he ſeems this week to ſay all that his little invention and ſpite can ſupply, and I may ſafely conclude he hath exhauſted the ſubject; he returns, when I leaſt dream of him, with ſtale malice and double dulneſs, to empty that quiver which he hath filled with arrows from abroad: But when his mercileſs auxiliaries are withdrawn, ſome to pleaſure, others to debate how to retrieve, by cabaling, what they loſt by ill conduct; or are amuſed by fawning at court; or diſabled by the diſorders of a broken conſtitution; this harmleſs perſon abateth very much of the poignancy of his ſatire.

Whilſt I was thus reflecting upon this famous *monitor*, my printer brought me ſeveral letters, but not all of them, wrote by myſelf to the *Examiner*, as the ſagacious *Medley* ſuggeſteth; with his humble advice, that it would not be amiſs to print more frequently thoſe letters I daily receive: His old way of judging of the goodneſs by the ſale,

ſale, made him extol that paper, wherein I had lately obliged ſo many of my correſpondents, proteſting, that ſince the Roman triumph, or what he calls the *laurel-crown* and Marcus Craſſus, he had not ſeen a greater call for any particular *Examiner*: The reaſon ſeemed plain; the underhand endeavours of my fellow-writers have ſucceeded; the concurrent intereſt of many authors muſt be much more prevailing than that of one; in conſideration of which, I reſolved upon that eaſy method of filling up a paper, and at the ſame time obliging a friend.

The firſt letter complaineth with juſtice of the great neglect I have been guilty of, in letting the *Medley* boaſt himſelf ſo long upon the clauſe in the *Act of inſolvency*, relating to the receivers of the revenue: He exhorteth me to read carefully the act at length; where he aſſureth me, I ſhall find the requiſite ſanction included, although couched in other terms; from whence he infers, that whatever cunning was requiſite to the drawing up the ſaid act, he needeth not be a Volpone to diſcover the intent: He beggeth me to take this matter into *examination*, which I promiſe him ſhortly to do, although to the aboliſhing my antagoniſt's witty advertiſement, and confirming my own opinion, that a cunning knave will ſooner commit a hundred crimes (although of as black a dye) that come within a hair's breadth of the gallows, than one clumſy one, by which he may be made to mount it.

The ſecond letter is of ſuch a length, that I

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am ſorry it cannot be inſerted here: I find it ſo ingenious, that I do not think fit to abridge it: The gentleman treateth, with a deſcription very delicate, of the art of courts; or the means by which treacherous enemies are to a miracle tranſformed into faithful friends, profeſſed admirers, and moſt obſequious flatterers; with the great ſecret how to overcome that ſcrupulous modeſty which deters ſome few from imitating the reſt, and embracing with open arms thoſe whom heretofore they would have deſtroyed.

A third draweth up a very pathetic repreſentation of the hardſhips inflicted upon a reverend divine, late chaplain of Morden College upon Black-Heath, for no other reaſon but his being an honeſt *Tory*, and truly orthodox: And really the management ſeemeth ſo unfair, that if, upon an exact inquiry, I find the facts to be true; ſuch as their letting part of the ſaid college to a coffee-houſe; reducing the number of twenty decayed merchants to twelve, and thoſe Diſſenters, although the founder obliged his truſtees to no ſuch limitation; aſſigning twenty pounds a-year for each perſon, which is alſo reduced to twelve pounds *per annum*: If, I ſay, theſe facts prove true, I ſhall not fail to take a proper time to ſet them in the beſt lights I am able.

A fifth, with gilt paper, neat wax, and under cover, dateth his remonſtrances from the drawing-room; and in a courtly ſtyle, which I am not polite enough to imitate, ſetteth forth the viciſſitude of human things, the change of man-

ners and faſhions; ſeemeth with pleaſure, yet regret, to call to memory an age, wherein poſſibly himſelf might flouriſh, in which the modes that now obtain, would not have been endured: In ſhort, he appeareth extremely ſhocked at the conduct of two *great ladies*, who took the liberty to behave themſelves in the Queen's preſence, before a full court, as if they had been at eaſe in their own *ruelles*, with none but inferior perſons about them. Reverence, diſtinction, decency, were made only for little people; theſe ladies are above the punctilio of laws and cuſtoms: Their own charms, the merit of their anceſtors, their gratitude, greatneſs of ſoul, reſpect and duty to their ſovereign, may ſupport irregularity in their poſterity.

I hope, the *Medley* will allow theſe paſſages may have been extracted out of *real* letters; ſince I could as well have produced them for my own: Be that as it will, I am glad he alloweth me to keep ſo good a correſpondence with myſelf. His cenſure, if it be true, amounteth to no more than this; that I am ſo far from being obliged to others for my matter, as to be forced to father my own upon thoſe who will pleaſe to accept it; wherein I differ as much from him, as one who ſtealeth money into his neighbour's pocket, doth from a rogue who picketh it out.

N° 49. Thurſday, July 19. 1711.

Avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæteraſque bonas artes ſubvertit, pro iis ſuperbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, et omnia venalia habere, edocuit.

I CONSIDER myſelf grown a very uſeleſs writer; but it was no more than I foreſaw, when I firſt began with the *Medley*: I knew my paper would inſenſibly dwindle into the thing himſelf and his party deſired; and my time be loſt in manáging a diſpute fruitleſs to the town, and inſignificant even to ourſelves: He is reſolved not to be convinced, nor I to be perverted; he hath ſtill his prompters, and I my readers; we both are where we began; he will yet continue to animadvert falſely; and I deſign henceforward to take no more notice of what he writes, than men are uſed to do by notorious liars; who, if they ever happen to ſpeak truth, muſt bring other vouchers than themſelves, to gain that belief which their continued courſe of falſity hath juſtly robbed them of from the public.

I had perhaps cloſed my papers with this, and took leave until the meeting of the parliament, pleaſed to leave affairs in ſo quick and promiſing a condition, had I not met with a very ſcarce manuſcript out of a certain library: I believe the tranſlation of part of it will not be unacceptable to the town. The author is that famous Italian, Giovanni Adollrandi, who made it his particular requeſt, that his works might never be printed:

The manuſcript I ſpeak of is called, *Marcus Antonius*, wrote in the ſame ſort of verſe with the *Rinaldo of Taſſo*, whoſe ſenior he was: The paſſage I would tranſlate, is Fulvia's going to the houſe of Pride, to implore the ſuccour of the goddeſs towards ruining the virtue of Agrippa, the favourite of Auguſtus: There are ſo many parallel incidents in the deſcription, that I am tempted to believe our famous Spenſer had read this poem, when he gave the world his fourth canto of the firſt book of his *Fairy Queen*.

The author introduceth Dolabella telling the hiſtory of the Triumvirate; Lepidus's removal, Antony's behaviour in the eaſt, and Octavius's government at Rome, when he had called Agrippa to aſſiſt him in the management of affairs; whoſe wiſdom and great abilities proved deſtructive to the hopes that Antony's friends had entertained of ſeeing him ſole arbitrator of the empire. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, is recorded by Plutarch to be a bold and enterpriſing woman: Our poet entereth very well into her character; where Dolabella relates, that he beheld in his journey a ſtupendous palace, with a broad high-way, made bare by the number of paſſengers who hourly travelled that way; few of them ever returned, but ſuch whom poverty had reduced: The avenues were filled with beggars, who, although in rags and ruins, retained their former air and deportment; when they required your charity, it was ſtill with a vaunting introduction of what they had been.

Approaching

Approaching nearer, I ſaw, continued he, two buſy perſons, gaily habited, entertaining the croud that were in the broad road; theſe were Flattery and Folly: The firſt made herſelf acceptable by exceſs of compliance, and perpetual praiſes; for ſuch was her induſtry, that ſhe left not even *vice* without its applauſe; endearing to the wearers their very defects: Folly was no leſs aſſiduous in beſpeaking credit of her ſiſter, aſſuring them, that whatever was ſpoke by Flattery was indiſputable: In this delightful converſation, the travellers paſſed happily on to the *palace*, where they were met by Vanity, who with much applauſe and ceremony, which they took for reſpect, conducted them into the houſe of Pride.

This dazzling unweildy ſtructure was built amidſt the tears and groans of a people haraſſed with a lingering war, to gratify the ambition of a *ſubject;* while the *Sovereign's palace* lay in *aſhes*. It was dedicated, from the firſt foundation, to the goddeſs of Pride; the building exceſſive *coſtly*, but not *artful;* the *architect* ſeemed to conſider how to be moſt profuſe, and therefore neglected an advantageous eminence (made proper by nature) to build one a quarter of a mile ſhort of it, at the vain expence of fifty millions of ſeſterces. There were to be ſeen ſtately *towers*, noble *porticoes*, ample *piazzas*, and well-turned *pillars*, without one handſome room, unleſs you will call the kitchen and cellars ſuch; which parts of the houſe happen to be of very little or

no uſe to the *parſimonious* founder; a number of chambers, but none convenient; fine gardens without water: The whole building raiſed upon a ſandy foundation; every breath from court, every blaſt, puffed away ſome grains of that huge fleeting hill, upon which this palace was erected.

Here the goddeſs kept her court, within an inner chamber, into which paſſengers were conducted: She was ſeated upon a throne, raiſed under a *canopy* within an *alcove;* whoever gazed on her, ſeldom beheld any thing with approbation but themſelves; her beauty was mixed with diſdain, and well expreſſed her inward contempt for inferior objects: She never fixed her eyes upwards, unleſs when, by intervals, they were caſt upon a *mirror* ſhe held in her hand, which reflected back her own charms, the only image wherein ſhe took delight.

My attention, as well as that of the whole aſſembly, was ſuddenly taken off from the goddeſs, and transferred to a lady, who with precipitation broke through the croud, and made directly to the throne: Although paſſed her meridian, her bloom was ſucceeded by ſo graceful an air, that youth could ſcarce make her more deſirable; her fair hair was tucked under a *tiara* of jewels, made in the faſhion of a coronet. If her beauty prepoſſeſſed us to her advantage, we were not leſs terrified in beholding the company ſhe was in: On one ſide marched Envy, laſhing her with whips and *ſnakes;* giving her to drink by intervals from a cup of wine mingled with

with gall and wormwood: Her other ſupporter was Wrath, who continually toſſed a flaming brand, directing her ſight to a dagger which he held; his looks ghaſtly, his limbs trembling, his body half expoſed, the reſt clothed with a robe ſtained with blood, and torn by his own fury, which was ſo fierce he could not reſtrain it ſometimes from falling upon himſelf. His breath was inceſſantly applied to the lady's ſpleen and brain, from whence violent agonies and raging frenzies ſucceeded, as was evident by a *toſs* and motion as particular as wonderful.

She was attired in a crimſon *robe* edged with *ermin*, and buckled with diamonds; her train borne by one who had formerly been her maſter of the ceremonies, and who, under the falſe title of *good eſtabliſhment*, had introduced her with applauſe into the world; yet having made the fortune of his votary, he was no longer ſolicitous to preſerve appearances, but ſubmitted to be called by his true name Ingratitude.

The goddeſs not only vouchſafed her a gracious look, but gave her hand to the lady, who was named Fulvia: After a tender embrace, ſhe ſeated her by herſelf on the throne; called her conquereſs in right of her huſband; daughter, favourite, her repreſentative, her other ſelf; bid her name her diſtreſs, and depend upon her for relief.

Fulvia, with ſighs, told the goddeſs, that from a proſpect of being the moſt happy perſon, ſhe was become the moſt miſerable. The laurels daily

daily fading upon the brow of her abſent lord; their partizans wholly removed from Auguſtus's favour; and, which was worſe, Agrippa, a perſon of fatal virtue, deſtructive to the ambition of her party, was truſted with the ſole management of affairs, notwithſtanding their mighty cabals, and hourly intrigues, to retrieve the power they had loſt. Agrippa's reputation was mounted to to ſuch a pitch, that ſhe could not behold and live; thoſe two tormentors, Wrath and Envy, giving her no remiſſion, until he were deſtroyed. She therefore beſought the goddeſs, ſince falſe reports, treachery, and aſſaſſinations had failed, that ſhe would go her herſelf, and take Avarice along with titles and wealth, to puff up his ſoul, and deſtroy his virtues, that he might fall, as herſelf and other favourites had done, by the ſin of pride, and the love of riches.

To whom the goddeſs replied: It is not the leaſt of my troubles that I muſt tell you, your requeſt is vain: I have attempted enlarging our empire, by the acceſſion of ſo powerful a perſon as Agrippa; I applied the charms of wealth and luxury; I applied myſelf; but he is more abſtemious, more ſedate than before: I beheld the hateful goddeſs of Virtue encircling him with her protecting wings; I heard her tell him, ſhe would direct his ſteps and never forſake him; that the empire ſhould flouriſh at its greateſt height under his adminiſtration; that Pride ſhould be defeated, Avarice return baffled and aſhamed; his hoards inviolable: That the uprightneſs of

his

his manners, his extenſive ſoul and vaſt capacity, ſhould make his a name, which the race of favourites for time immemorial ſhould think it their glory to be called by: Whereas hiſtory had not hitherto delivered down one, but where the parallel would be in ſome parts an injuſtice to his character; as if unbounded power and ſolid virtue had been irreconcileable, until met in Agrippa.

But, my beloved daughter, that virtue we cannot corrupt, may yet be eclipſed; we will cauſe diſtruſt and impatiency to enter into the minds of his party; they ſhall fear what they ought to reverence: Thoſe prodigious qualifications that diſtinguiſh Agrippa, may be turned againſt him; whilſt his very foes admire his abilities, we will make his friends miſcal his wiſdom, *cunning*. Although he be inceſſantly working for the good of the empire, they ſhall be hoodwinked to thoſe advantages. Neither new ſeas explored, nor countries diſcovered and ſubdued; the heavy debts of the empire diſcharged, credit reſtored, peace brought home to their dwelling; trade ſecure and flouriſhing, ſhall overcome thoſe ſuſpicions and bad impreſſions we will make upon the people. Your *faction*, vigilant and bold, ſhall diſperſe falſe reports; Antony's zeal muſt languiſh; let him attempt no farther for the good of the empire, but his own: Thoſe two demons that haunt you ſhall be appeaſed; Revenge be ſatiated; offer upon his altars, and ſupplicate the goddeſs of Diſcord, that

that ſhe may diſappear from among you, and more effectually poſſeſs your enemies.

N° 50. Thurſday, July 28. 1711.

Sed nos immenſum ſpatiis confecimus æquor,
Et jam tempus equum fumantia ſolvere colla.

NOW that I have completed the number of my papers, and, for the ſpace of a year, done my country what ſervice lay in the power of an honeſt, although concealed pen; I ſhall take my leave of the town, with particular thanks for its favour, and ſome acknowledgment to the *Medley*, for ſo conſtantly explaining what he thought my meaning in any dark alluſions or allegories; and retire myſelf from the fatigue of politics and ſtate-reflections, until ſome more urgent occaſion again call forth my endeavours.

It is very difficult, in an intereſted world, for any one to be thought free from thoſe views that influence others: There are ſo few perſons content to ſacrifice their own good to that of the public, that I do not wonder to have a wrong interpretation put upon my labours; and myſelf, although entirely otherwiſe, accuſed as directing them to ſome mercenary end, and full of the deſire of making my fortune, by application to the prevailing party: But let ſuch who are my accuſers remember, that this paper was begun while yet the *late miniſtry* were at the helm, and nothing

nothing but their miſmanagement to prognoſticate their loſs of power.

To thoſe who have complained, that my writings were not always equal, the ſpirit the ſame, or the matter ſo entertaining; let ſuch begin to conſider, my buſineſs was to *inſtruct*; I would not deſcend to *divert*: I was neither a Plautus, nor a Moliere; I did not ſo much as pretend to *wit*, much leſs *buffoonry*: I went not in purſuit of a laugh, but confined myſelf to one ſubject, and that a very ſerious one. How extreme difficult it is to ſucceed often upon the like topic, I leave to the conſideration of the judicious; who know how hard it is to vary the ſame diſcourſe, and admit of frequent repetition, without being cloyed: with which I have no reaſon to tax my readers; ſince the printer telleth me, the ſale of my paper is not at all diminiſhed, or its reputation fallen: which, I muſt confeſs, were temptation enough for me to continue it, if I had mercenary views, or were not the end I propoſed already anſwered; which maketh me chuſe, although perhaps not quite ſo civilly, to riſe myſelf, and leave my gueſts with an appetite for more, rather than ſtay till they ſhould call to take away.

And notwithſtanding the charge that hath ſo often been brought againſt me, with an intent to wound *great men* through my ſide, of my being a contemptible hireling, and a little mercenary fellow without probity or principles; one whoſe actions were directed by others, from whence the

the machine talked and moved, as conducted by higher hands: I ſolemnly declare, I am ſtill as much unknown to the leaders of our own party, as to the others; and very likely to remain ſo as long as I pleaſe myſelf; notwithſtanding the wiſe remarks of the *Obſervator*, and the gueſſes made by the judicious *Medley*.

Among the many pretenders in this town, you can hardly produce me one, who will not undertake to diſcover and point out the difference of ſtyle, and manner of thinking, peculiar to the ſeveral men of wit: This pamphlet is certainly from ſuch a hand; they know his manner perfectly: That paper of verſes is infallibly of ſuch a poet, no man in England could write it but he; and this ſometimes even upon the firſt eſſay of an author. I, among the reſt, uſed to determine formerly at the ſame rate, but ſhall be more cautious for the future; having ſeen the world and myſelf ſo often and ſo wretchedly miſtaken. How many fathers has this paper of mine been aſcribed to! Among all the men of wit, who are in the intereſt of the preſent miniſtry, I know not one who hath eſcaped ſome report or ſuſpicion of being the author. The *Medley* hath gueſſed round; and from his ſkill in that part of learning, called *dog's logic* thought he would infallibly hit upon it at laſt. Thus he hath done what he would have us think is an injury to ſeveral innocent perſons; and if the *Examiner* be a ſtupid, falſe, and ſlanderous paper, as he weekly affirms, I think he is bound in conſcience

ſcience and common juſtice, to repair the injury he hath done to the reputation of thoſe worthy perſons he hath falſely intitled it to, and who have never given him the leaſt provocation for any ſuch calumny.

The judicious reader cannot but obſerve how weak that cauſe muſt be, which the joint endeavours of their party have not been able to defend againſt an unknown perſon, who hath had nothing but *naked truth* to oppoſe to whole armies of complicated falſehoods and malice; yet, ſupported by the goodneſs of the cauſe, I have waded through ſeas of ſcurrility, without being polluted by any of that filth they have inceſſantly caſt at me. I have neither miſrepreſented perſons nor things; nay, out of tenderneſs, have often forborn to ſhew their weakeſt ſide. I appeal to all impartial men, whether time hath not diſcovered more abuſes in the management of the late miniſtry, than the *Examiner* could expoſe? The facts are now ſo obvious and uncontroverted, that I preſume there is no need of a *monitor* to point out thoſe things, to which every man is become capable of directing himſelf.

Of all the doubtful ſteps that I have taken in the conduct of this deſign, there is none for which I ſo much blame myſelf, as firſt deſcending to take notice and talk to thoſe wretched adverſaries that have weekly fought againſt me; it was putting myſelf upon a level with ſuch whoſe deſigns and mine were entirely oppoſite: I was fired by the love of my country, and that noble

ardour which conducteth us through a thouſand difficulties in the purſuit of juſtice: My attempt was to *diſcover* abuſes, theirs to *conceal* them; I purſued truth, they openly adhered to falſehood; my pen was valued for its ſincerity, theirs deſpiſed for diſingenuity; and yet I was ſo weak to enter the liſts, merely to ſatisfy thoſe friends who became uneaſy at their not being oppoſed, and could not account for my neglect; a fault many have been guilty of, in conſideration of others, although againſt a man's better ſenſe and reaſoning; as I could inſtance in ſeveral things, and particularly in one example out of Plutarch; if the compariſon may not be thought too great a preſumption: It is that of Pompey the Great, who ventured a battle with Cæſar when it was not his intereſt; "merely becauſe he was a man "of that honour and modeſty, he could not bear "a reproach; neither would he diſoblige his "friends, but broke his own meaſures, and for-"ſook his prudent reſolutions, to follow their "vain hope and deſire." How much more commendable was the conſtancy of Phocion, who, when the Athenians urged him at an unſeaſonable time to fall upon the enemy, peremptorily refuſed; and being upbraided by them with cowardice and puſillanimity, told them, "Gentle-"men, we underſtand one another very well; "you cannot make me valiant at this time, nor "I you wiſe!"

But it is time to have done with ſuch worthleſs combatants. If I have not foiled them, I am certain

tain they have not hurt me, any otherwiſe than in my own opinion, for attempting to engage them. I ſhall conclude with obſerving the beauty of that proſpect which lieth before me, and for which I congratulate with all my countrymen; the ſecurity to our religion and happy conſtitution under our moſt pious Queen, her excellent parliament, and able miniſtry; which to ſpeak of, one by one, would be a volume, not a ſheet; methinks I behold the younger Cato in Mr St John *; all that love for his country, that contempt of danger, and greatneſs of ſoul, of whom it was ſaid, "It was not for honour or riches, "nor raſhly, or by chance, that he engaged him-"ſelf in the affairs of ſtate; but he undertook "the ſervice of the public, as the proper buſineſs "of an honeſt man; and therefore he thought "himſelf obliged to be as diligent for the good "of that, as a bee for the preſervation of her "hive."

By our well-governed ſtrength at home, we are now beginning to be truly formidable to our enemies abroad: France was never ſo buſy in ſearching expedients that may incline towards a peace; they find it is become their intereſt to be ſincere; nothing but the unexpected death of the Emperor, and that diſtracted ſtate of northern affairs, which at this time threatened a breach in the confederacy; and the ſeeds of which miſchief have been long ſown, could prevent our

* Secretary of State, created Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke.

finding the ſpeedy effects of it. All, but thoſe who are wilfully blind, and bigotted to a party, plainly ſee the advantage of the change that hath been made; although, conſidering the circumſtances of a tedious war, I am ſo far willing to comply with ſome gentlemen, as to admit there was a hazard in it, inaſmuch as a *civil war is worſe than any tyranny*: from whence I take leave to hope, we ſhall not eaſily repeat the danger; and ſince all changes are not good, let us change no more.

☞ The *Examiners* were written in defence of the new adminiſtration, and the particular revolutions at court, which had introduced the Earl of Oxford, and had diſplaced the Earl of Godolphin and his friends.

Many of Swift's *Examiners* are perſonally aimed at the General [the Duke of Marlborough.] In a free country, the power of a general is always to be feared. The greater his military capacity, or the more ſucceſsful his arms, in the greater danger are the liberties of the people. On this maxim Swift proceeded; and while he was writing in defence of the commonwealth, he had an opportunity of giving a looſe to his own ſeverity; of which *the Houſe of Pride*, and ſeveral other allegorical eſſays, are very ſpirited examples.

But I am fettered in my animadverſions on theſe papers. The preſent times, and the honour which I bear to many noble families, deſcended from perſons mentioned in the *Examiners*, make me willing to take as ſlight notice as poſſible even of the wittieſt paſſages in thoſe papers, becauſe many of thoſe paſſages ariſe from perſonal reflections, or party-ſarcaſms. In general, the ſeveral points relating to the national debt, (alas! how increaſed ſince the year 1710!) the too long continuance of the war, and other public topics of complaint, are melancholy truths, juſtly becoming the pen of a man who loves his country.

Within

Within theſe laſt forty years, the political treatiſes have been ſo numerous, ſo various, ſo local, and ſo temporary, that each new pamphlet has ſucceeded its predeceſſor, like a youthful ſon to an ancient father, amidſt a a multiplicity of followers, admirers, and dependents; whilſt the antiquated ſire, having *ſtrutted and foamed his hour upon the ſtage, is heard no more*, but lies ſilent, and almoſt entirely forgotten, except by a few friends and cotemporaries, who accidentally remember ſome of his juſt obſervations, or prophetical aphoriſms, which they have lived to ſee accompliſhed. Thus has it fared, even in my time, with the *Examiners*, the *Freeholders*, and the *Craftſman*. And the ſame fate will attend moſt writings of that ſort; which being framed to ſerve particular views, fulfil the purport of their creation, and then periſh: while works of a more liberal and diffuſive kind are acceptable to all perſons, and all times; and may aſſume to themſelves a certain proſpect of ſurviving to the lateſt poſterity.

But when a young gentleman enters into the commerce of life, he will be obliged, in his own defence, to look into every thing that hath been written upon political ſubjects. In England, a man cannot keep up a converſation without being well verſed in politics. In whatever other point of learning he may be deficient, he certainly muſt not appear ſuperficial in ſtate-affairs. He muſt chuſe his party; and he muſt ſtick to the choice. *Non revocare gradum*, muſt be his motto; and Heaven forgive ſuch an one, if the *gradus* now and then enforces him to act againſt ſelf-conviction.

If party, and the conſequences of it, had ariſen to that height among the Romans and Grecians, as it has ariſen of late years among the Engliſh, their poets would probably have added *her* to the three furies, and would have placed her in hell, as a fit companion for Tyſiphone, Megara, and Alecto; from whence, according to their deſcription, ſhe might have made excurſions upon earth, only with an intention to deſtroy, confound, miſlead, and diſunite mankind.

It is true, that all countries have their parties and

their factions. But there is a certain contagious diſtemper of this ſort, ſo peculiar to the Britiſh iſlands, that, I believe, it is unknown to every other part of the world. It increaſes our natural gloom, and it makes us ſo averſe to each other, that it keeps men of the beſt morals, and moſt ſocial inclinations, in one continual ſtate of warfare and oppoſition. Muſt not the ſource of this malady ariſe rather from the heart, than from the head? from the different operations of our paſſions, than of our reaſon?

Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior,
An culpa?

Swift, a man of violent paſſions, was, in conſequence of thoſe paſſions, violent in his party. But as his capacity and genius were ſo extraordinary and extenſive, even his party-writings carry with them dignity and inſtruction. And in that light one ſhould read the *Examiners*, where he will find a nervous ſtyle, a clear diction, and great knowledge of the true landed intereſt of England. *Orrery.*

The Houſe of Pride, in the Examiner, N° 49. was not the production of Dr Swift; but was one of the viſions of Mrs Manley, who wrote the *Atalantis*. Swift.

The laſt *ſix Examiners* were not wrote by Dr Swift, as appears from the notes at N° 13. But as they had got a place in all former editions of the Dean's works, Hawkeſworth's excepted, we were adviſed to retain them in the preſent edition.

Some

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB.

In a LETTER from a Perſon of Honour.

Written in the year 1711.

The PUBLISHER's PREFACE.

ABOUT the year when her late Majeſty of bleſſed memory thought proper to change her miniſtry, and brought in Mr Harley, Mr St John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and ſome others; the firſt of theſe being made an Earl and Lord Treaſurer, he was ſoon after blamed by his friends for not making a general ſweep of all the *Whigs*, as the latter did of their adverſaries upon her Majeſty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament-men, amounting to above two hundred, grew ſo warm upon the ſlowneſs of the Treaſurer in this part, that they formed themſelves into a body under the name of the *October Club*, and had many meetings to conſult upon ſome methods, that might ſpur on thoſe in power, ſo that they might make a quicker diſpatch in removing all of the *Whig* leaven from the employments they ſtill poſſeſſed. To prevent the ill conſequences of this diſcontent among ſo many worthy members, the reſt of the miniſtry joined with the Treaſurer, partly to pa-

ciſy,

cify, and partly to divide thoſe, who were in greater haſte than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the ſuppoſed author met a conſiderable number of this club in a public-houſe, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treaſurer's ſincerity, with many of thoſe very reaſons which are urged in the following diſcourſe, beſides ſome others, which were not ſo proper to appear at that time in print.

The Treaſurer alledged in his defence, that ſuch a treatment would not conſiſt with prudence, becauſe there were many employments to be beſtowed, which required ſkill and practice; that ſeveral gentlemen, who poſſeſſed them, had been long verſed, very loyal to her Majeſty, had never been violent party-men, and were ready to fall into all honeſt meaſures for the ſervice of their Queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her Majeſty ſuch gentlemen whoſe principles, with regard both to church and ſtate, his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the Earl proceeded in procuring employments for thoſe, who deſerved them by their honeſty and abilities to execute them; which I confeſs to have been a ſingularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club ſtill continued uneaſy that no quicker progreſs was made in removals, until thoſe who were leaſt violent began to ſoften a little, or, by dividing them, the

whole

whole affair dropped. During this difficulty we have been aſſured, that the following diſcourſe was very ſeaſonably publiſhed with great ſucceſs, ſhewing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real deſire, that all perſons in employments ſhould be truly loyal churchmen, zealous for her Majeſty's honour and ſafety, as well as for the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, if the Queen ſhould happen to die without iſſue. This diſcourſe having been publiſhed about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally underſtood without ſome explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, becauſe it ſeems a point of hiſtory too material to be loſt. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the ſuppoſed author.

Some

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB *.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the firſt inſtitution of your ſociety, I have always thought you capable of the greateſt things. Such a number of perſons, members of parliament, true lovers of our conſtitution in church and ſtate, meeting at certain times,

* This pamphlet was written in the year 1711, and is ſo applicable to that particular time, that I ſhall not make any animadverſions upon it. From political tracts, the true hiſtory of England is to be deduced: And if foreigners were to enter into that branch of reading, they might frame a more diſtinct notion of our legiſlature, and of our manners, than from more laboured and connected accounts of our conſtitution. In ſuch a view, I am apt to think, that, at firſt ſight, they muſt behold us a diſunited, diſcontented, and ſeemingly an unſteady people. But I am certain, that, upon a more minute diſquiſition, they muſt find in us a fixed, and, I may ſay, an innate love of liberty, variegated, and perhaps ſometimes erroneous in its progreſs, but conſtant and unwearied in the purſuit of that glorious end. What people upon earth can deſire a more exalted or a more diſtinguiſhed character? To ſpeak in the dialect of the heathen world, our errors are the errors of men, our principles are the principles of the gods. *Orrery.*

Perhaps that clear, impartial account of the indigeſted ſchemes of the October Club, as it fell accidentally from the pen of Dr Swift, may throw ſome additional light upon the hiſtory of that æra, which, it muſt be confeſſed, is very greatly wanted; and at the ſame time be a caution to all worthy and ſober men, who principally intend the good

times, and mixing buſineſs and converſation together, without the forms and conſtraint neceſſary to be obſerved in public aſſemblies, muſt very much improve each other's underſtanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourſelves againſt any deſigns of the oppoſite party.

good of their country, in all their reaſonings and debates, not violently to oppoſe and diſtreſs any miniſtry whatſoever, who deſire to act with temper and moderation upon conſtitutional principles. His account of them runs in theſe terms: "We are plagued with an October Club, "that is, a ſet of above an hundred parliament-men of "the country, who drink October beer at home, and "meet every evening at a tavern near the parliament, "to conſult affairs, and drive things on to extremes a-"gainſt the Whigs; to call the old miniſtry to account, "and get off five or ſix heads. The miniſtry ſeem not to "regard them; yet one of them in confidence told me, "that there muſt be ſomething thought on to ſettle "things better. I'll tell you one great ſtate-ſecret. The "Queen, ſenſible how much ſhe was governed by the late "miniſtry, runs a little into the other extreme; and is "jealous in that point even of thoſe who got her out of "the others hands. The miniſtry is for gentler mea-"ſures, and the other Tories for more violent. Lord "Rivers talking to me other day, curſed the paper "called the *Examiner* for ſpeaking civilly of the Duke of "Marlborough. This I happened to talk of to the Secre-"tary, who blamed the warmth of that Lord and ſome "others; and ſwore, that if their advice were followed, "they would be blown up in twenty-four hours. And I "have reaſon to think, that they will endeavour to "prevail on the Queen to put her affairs more in the "hands of a miniſtry than ſhe does at preſent: And "there are, I believe, two men thought on; one of them "you have often met the name of in my letters." *Swift's letter to Stella, Feb.* 18. 1710.

party. Upon the opening of this ſeſſion, an incident hath happened, to provide againſt the conſequences whereof will require your utmoſt vigilance and application. All this laſt ſummer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while thoſe on our ſide were dropped, as if we had no farther occaſion for them. Some time before an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever ſince; and thereby have endeavoured in ſome ſort to turn thoſe arts againſt us, which had been ſo effectually employed to their ruin: A plain demonſtration of their ſuperior ſkill at intrigue; to make a ſtratagem ſucceed a ſecond time, and this even againſt thoſe who firſt tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any care, without ſtraining a very tender point, which thoſe chiefly concerned avoided by all means, becauſe it might ſeem a counter-part of what they had ſo much condemned in their predeceſſors; although it is certain the two caſes were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been ſafe, for there was no other danger in view; but the conſequences of this were foreſeen from the beginning; and thoſe who kept the watch had early warning of it. It would have been a maſter-piece of prudence in this caſe to have made a friend of an enemy. But whether that were poſſible to be compaſſed, or whether

ther it were ever attempted, is now too late to inquire. All accommodation was rendered deſperate by an unlucky proceeding ſome months ago at Windſor, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that ſituation of affairs; and I am told, was not approved by a certain great miniſter. It was obvious to ſuppoſe, that, in a particular where the honour and intereſt of a huſband were ſo cloſely united with thoſe of a wife, he might be ſure of her utmoſt endeavours for his protection, although ſhe neither loved nor eſteemed him. The danger of loſing power, favour, profit, and a ſhelter from domeſtic tyranny, were ſtrong incitements to ſtir up a working brain, early practiſed in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it ſafe to count upon the weakneſs of any man's underſtanding, who is thoroughly poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of revenge to ſharpen his invention; nothing elſe is required beſides obſequiouſneſs and aſſiduity; which, as they are often the talents of thoſe who have no better, ſo they are apt to make impreſſions upon the beſt and greateſt minds.

It was no ſmall advantage to the deſigning party, that ſince the adventure at Windſor the perſon on whom we ſo much depend was long abſent by ſickneſs; which hindered him from purſuing thoſe meaſures that miniſters are in prudence forced to take to defend their country and themſelves againſt an irritated faction. The negotiators on the other ſide improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmoſt; and by an un-

paralleled boldneſs, accompanied with many falſehoods, perſuaded certain lords (who were already in the ſame principle, but were afraid of making a wrong ſtep, leſt it ſhould lead them out of their coaches into the dirt) that voting in appearance againſt the court would be the ſafeſt courſe to avoid the danger they moſt apprehended, which was that of loſing their penſions; and their opinions, when produced, would, by ſeemingly contradicting their intereſt, have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with ſome arguments of more immediate power, went far in producing that ſtrange unexpected turn we have ſo lately ſeen, and from which our adverſaries reckoned upon ſuch wonderful effects; and ſome of them, particularly my Lord Chief Juſtice, began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate cauſes of this deſertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think it would hardly have been attempted, or at leaſt not ſucceeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church-party and the miniſters had different views, or at leaſt were not ſo firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly ſaid, and I ſuppoſe not without ſome ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were diſcontented to find ſo little done, that they thought it looked as if people were not in earneſt; that they expect to ſee a thorough change with reſpect to employments; and although every man could not be provided

for

for, yet when all places were filled with perſons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints and leſs danger from the other party: that this change was hoped for all laſt ſummer, and even to the opening of the ſeſſion, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by ſome in favour of the miniſtry, that it was impoſſible to find employments for one pretender in twenty; and therefore in gratifying one, nineteen would be diſobliged; but while all have leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deſerve: But this again was eſteemed a very ſhallow policy, which was too eaſily ſeen through, muſt ſoon come to an end, and would cauſe a general diſcontent; with twenty other objections to which it was liable: And indeed, conſidering the ſhort life of miniſters in our climate, it was, with ſome reaſon, thought a little hard, that thoſe for whom any employment was intended, ſhould by ſuch a delay be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a miniſtry is beſt confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its intereſt.

I have ſet this cauſe of complaint in the ſtrongeſt light, although my deſign is to endeavour that it ſhould have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adverſaries counted upon, and do ſtill expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething to this objection, which in all appearance lieth ſo hard upon the preſent miniſtry. What ſhall I offer up-

on ſo tender a point? How ſhall I convey an anſwer that none will apprehend, except thoſe for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great miniſters upon ſeveral accounts; but never ſo much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be anſwerable in the next world, although they dare not convince the preſent, until it is too late. This letter is ſent you, *gentlemen*, from no mean hand, nor from a perſon uninformed, although, for the reſt, as little concerned in point of intereſt for any change of miniſtry, as moſt others of his fellow-ſubjects. I may therefore aſſume ſo much to myſelf, as to deſire you would depend upon it, that a ſhort time will make manifeſt, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at that door, where your enemies would be glad to ſee you place it. The wiſeſt man, who is not very near the ſpring of affairs, but views them only in their iſſues and events, will be apt to fix applauſes and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cauſe of a weakneſs that I never yet knew great miniſters without; I mean their being deaf to all advice: For if a perſon of the beſt underſtanding offers his opinion in a point, where he is not maſter of all the circumſtances, (which perhaps are not to be told) it is a hundred to one but he runs into an abſurdity: From whence it is, that miniſters falſely conclude themſelves to be equally wiſer than others in general things, where the common reaſon of mankind

kind ought to be the judge, and is probably leſs biaſſed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts blindly purſue a point of no importance, againſt the advice of every friend he had, until it ended in his ruin. I have ſeen great abilities rendered utterly uſeleſs by unaccountable and unneceſſary delay, and by difficulty of acceſs, by which a thouſand opportunities are ſuffered to eſcape. I have obſerved the ſtrongeſt ſhoulders to ſink under too great a load of buſineſs, for want of dividing a due proportion among others. Theſe, and more that might be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to diſcern, as well as lament; and wherein the wiſeſt miniſter may receive advice from others of inferior underſtanding. But in thoſe actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumſtances, it is hardly poſſible that our judgement ſhould not be miſtaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a meaſure taken, which hath afterwards proved the only one that could poſſibly have ſucceeded. Nay, I have known thoſe very men, who have formerly been in the ſecret of affairs, when a new ſet of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plauſible manner upon what was paſſing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occaſions may have been given for complaints, that enough hath not been done, thoſe complaints ſhould not be carried ſo far as

to make us forget what hath been done, which at firſt was a great deal more than we hoped or thought practicable; and you may be aſſured, that ſo much courage and addreſs were not employed in the beginning of ſo great a work without a reſolution of carrying it through, as faſt as opportunities would offer. Any of the moſt ſanguine gentlemen in your club would gladly have compounded two years ago to have been aſſured of ſeeing affairs in the preſent ſituation: It is principally to the abilities of one great man that you, gentlemen, owe the happineſs of meeting together to cultivate good principles, and form yourſelves into a body for defending your country againſt a reſtleſs and dangerous faction. It is to the ſame we all owe that mighty change in the moſt important poſts of the kingdom; that we ſee the ſacred perſon of our prince encompaſſed by thoſe, whom we ourſelves would have choſen, if it had been left to our power: And if every thing beſides that you could wiſh hath not been hitherto done, you will be but juſt to impute it to ſome powerful, although unknown impediments, wherein the miniſtry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reaſon to hope, from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that theſe impediments will in a ſhort time effectually be removed: and one great motive to haſten the removal of them will doubtleſs be the reflection upon thoſe dangerous conſequences, which had like to have enſued upon not removing them before. Beſides, after ſo plain

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and formidable a conviction that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to ſerve as opportunities to the inſatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itſelf, and diſarm its oppoſers, at leaſt of all offenſive weapons.

Conſider, if you pleaſe, how hard beſet the preſent miniſtry hath been on every ſide: By the impoſſibility of carrying on the war any longer, without taking the moſt deſperate courſes, or of recovering Spain from the Houſe of Bourbon, although we could continue it many years longer; by the clamours of a faction againſt any peace, without that condition which the moſt knowing among themſelves allowed to be impracticable; by the ſecret cabals of foreign miniſters, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and ſpirit up a ſinking faction to blaſt all our endeavours for peace with thoſe popular reproaches of France and the Pretender; not to mention the danger they have have been in from private inſinuations, of ſuch a nature as it was almoſt impoſſible to fence againſt. Theſe clouds now begin to blow over, and thoſe who are at the helm will have leiſure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which now makes up the adverſe party, conſiſteth of an union ſo monſtrous and unnatural, that in a little time it muſt of neceſſity fall to pieces. The *Diſſenters* with reaſon think themſelves betrayed and ſold by their brethren. What they have been told, that

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the preſent bill againſt occaſional conformity, was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuſe too groſs to paſs; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining ſections of the party have no other tie but that of inveterate hatred and rancour againſt thoſe in power, without agreeing in any other common intereſt, not cemented by principle, or perſonal friendſhip: I ſpeak particularly of their leaders; and although I know that court-enmities are as inconſtant as its friendſhips, yet from the difference of tempers and principle, as well as the ſcars remaining of former animoſities, I am perſuaded their league will not be of long continuance: I know ſeveral of them, who will never pardon thoſe with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they ſee the preſent miniſtry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold ſcent*, or playing a *deſperate game*, and crumble away.

On the other ſide, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruiſes of their fall, which pain them afreſh ſince their late *diſappointment*, they will leave no arts untried to recover themſelves: and it behoves all who have any regard for the ſafety of the Queen or her kingdom, to join unanimouſly againſt an adverſary, who will return full-fraught with vengeance upon the firſt opportunity that ſhall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, becauſe that party ſeem yet to have a reſerve of hope in the *ſame quarter from whence their laſt reinforce-*

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ment came. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs ſo much as a diſagreement among ourſelves, founded *upon a jealouſy* of the miniſtry, who I think need no better a teſtimony of their good intentions, than the inceſſant rage of the *party-leaders* againſt them.

There is one fault which both ſides are apt to charge upon themſelves, and very generouſly commend their adverſaries for the contrary virtue. The *Tories* acknowledge, that the *Whigs* outdid them in rewarding their friends and adhering to each other: the *Whigs* allow the ſame to the *Tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for doubtleſs the *Tories* are leſs vindictive of the two; and however remiſs in *puniſhing*, will probably be ſo in *rewarding*; although at the ſame time I will remember the clamours often raiſed during the reign of that party againſt the leaders, by thoſe who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reaſon on their ſide, becauſe it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit *honour* and *conſcience* for nothing: But ſurely the caſe is very different at this time, when whoever adheres to the adminiſtration, doth ſervice to GOD, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private intereſt and ſafety.

But if the *Whigs* leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it muſt be allowed likewiſe, that the bulk of them was in general more zealous for the ſervice of their party, even when abſtracted

abſtracted from any private advantage, as might be obſerved in a thouſand inſtances; for which I would likewiſe commend them, if it were not natural for mankind to be more *violent in an ill cauſe* than a good one.

The perpetual diſcord of factions, with ſeveral changes of late years in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The *court* and *country-party*, which uſed to be the old diviſion, ſeems now to be ceaſed, or ſuſpended for *better times* and *worſe princes*. The Queen and miniſtry are at this time fully in the true intereſt of the kingdom; and therefore the *court* and *country* are of a ſide; and the *Whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nurſed up by the *neceſſities* or *miſtakes* of a late *good, although unexperienced prince*. *Court* and *country* ought therefore to join their forces againſt theſe common enemies, until they are entirely diſperſed and diſabled. It is enough to arm ourſelves againſt them, when we conſider, that the greateſt misfortunes, which can befal the nation, are what would moſt anſwer their *intereſt* and their *wiſhes*; a perpetual war increaſes their money, breaks and beggars their *landed enemies*. The ruin of the church will pleaſe the *Diſſenters*, *Deiſts*, and *Socinians*, whereof the body of their party conſiſts. A *commonwealth*, or a *protector*, would gratify the *republican principles* of ſome, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no diſcontents of an inferior nature, ſuch I mean as I have already mentioned, ſhould be carried ſo far as to give any ill impreſſion of the preſent miniſtry. If all things have been hitherto done as you, *gentlemen*, could reaſonably wiſh, it can be imputed only to the *ſecret inſtruments* of that faction. The truth of this hath appeared from ſome late incidents, more viſibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a doubt, whether a *certain perſon* be in *earneſt*, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to ſtrike directly at his head.

When it happens, by ſome private croſs intrigues, that a great man hath not the power which is thought due to his ſtation, he will however probably deſire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preſerve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common buſineſs of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own diſquiets. Mean time, his expecting friends impute all their diſappointments to ſome deep deſign, or to his defect of good will; and his enemies are ſure to cry up his exceſs of power, eſpecially in thoſe points where they are confident it is moſt ſhortened. A miniſter in this difficult caſe is ſometimes forced to preſerve his credit, by forbearing what *is* in his power, for fear of diſcovering how far the limits extend of what is *not*; or perhaps for fear of ſhewing an inclination

inclination contrary to that of his maſter. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of *delay*, *unſteadineſs*, or *want of ſincerity*. So that there are many inconveniencies and dangers either in diſcovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that miniſters may happen to ſuffer for the *ſins of their predeceſſors*, who, by their great abuſes and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the diſtribution of both. And as in common life, whoever hath been long confined is very fond of his liberty, and will not eaſily endure the very appearance of reſtraint, even from thoſe who have been the inſtruments of ſetting him free; ſo it is with the recovery of power, which is uſually attended with an undiſtinguiſhed jealouſy, leſt it ſhould be again invaded. In ſuch a juncture, I cannot diſcover why a wiſe and honeſt man ſhould venture to place himſelf at the head of affairs upon any other regard than the ſafety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to *prevent an ill man from coming in*.

Upon the whole, I do not ſee any one ground of ſuſpicion or diſlike, which you, *gentlemen*, or others, who wiſh well to their country, may have entertained about perſons or proceedings, but what may probably be miſapprehended even by thoſe who think they have the beſt information. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to ſpeak

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out upon this occaſion; yet whoever will reaſon impartially upon the whole ſtate of affairs, muſt entirely acquit the miniſtry of that delay and neutrality which have been laid to their charge. Or ſuppoſe ſome ſmall part of this accuſation were true, (which I poſitively know to be otherwiſe, whereof the world will ſoon be convinced) yet the conſequences of any reſentment at this time muſt either be none at all, or the moſt fatal that can be imagined; for if the preſent miniſtry be made ſo uneaſy, that a change be thought neceſſary, things will return of courſe into the old hands of thoſe, whoſe *little fingers will be found heavier than their predeceſſors loins.* The *Whig faction* is ſo dextrous at corrupting, and the people ſo ſuſceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how eaſy it will be, after ſuch a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority againſt you. They will reſume their power with a ſpirit like that of Marius and Sylla, or the laſt triumvirate; and thoſe miniſters, who have been moſt cenſured for too much heſitation, will fall the firſt ſacrifices to their vengeance: But theſe are the ſmalleſt miſchiefs to be apprehended from ſuch returning exiles. What ſecurity can a prince hope for his perſon, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itſelf? He muſt expect to ſee his beſt friends brought to the ſcaffold for *aſſerting his rights;* to ſee his *prerogative* trampled on, and his *treaſure* applied to *feed the avarice of thoſe who make themſelves his keepers;* to hear himſelf treated with inſolence and con-

tempt; to have his *family purged at pleaſure* by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and ſhadow of a king no longer than his Ephori ſhall think fit.

Theſe are the inevitable conſequences of ſuch a change of affairs, as that envenomed party is now projecting; which will beſt be prevented by your firmly adhering to the preſent miniſtry, until this *domeſtic enemy* is out of all poſſibility of making head any more.

A PROPOSAL for the univerſal uſe of IRISH MANUFACTURE, in *cloths* and *furniture of houſes*, &c. utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing *wearable* that comes from ENGLAND *.

Written in the year 1720.

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greateſt diſcouragements from England, thoſe are what they are ſure to be moſt induſtrious in cultivating

* Upon Dr Swift's arrival in Ireland, that ſpirit which had been raiſed againſt him by the Whigs in England, infatuated likewiſe the whole populace of Dublin; inſomuch that when he walked through the town, he was frequently pointed at and abuſed by ſeveral of the meaner ſhop-keepers, mechanics, and other baſe fellows without name or occupation. Theſe abominable wretches, like their brethren the Yahoos, would often ſcrape the kennels with their naſty claws, to throw dirt and filth at him as he paſſed through the city; all which he bore for two or three years, until the brutes became tired of their ſcurrility, not ſo much with a reſigned philoſophical patience, as indeed with that ſuperior contempt for all unworthy demeanor, which is only to be conceived by the moſt improved and exalted minds. But theſe animoſities having ſubſided for two or three years, inſtead of rejoicing over the miſeries of that people which had without cauſe borne a tyrannous hate againſt him, he began to look down with pity on their diſtreſſed condition:

vating and ſpreading. *Agriculture*, which had been the principal care of all wiſe nations, and for

he regretted the calamities of his country and the abſurdity of their politics; he deplored their want of commerce, and lamented all their grievances. At laſt, in 1720, he reſolved, as far as lay in his power, to correct the errors and the blunders of his deluded countrymen; and with that view he writ ſhort and lively *propoſals for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufacture*, &c. on account of which a proſecution was ſet on foot againſt Waters the printer of that pamphlet, which was carried on with ſo much violence, that one William Whitſhed, then Chief Juſtice, thought proper, in a manner the moſt extraordinary, to keep the jury eleven hours, and to ſend them back nine times out of court, until he had wearied them into a ſpecial verdict. But Whitſhed, a man of low birth and narrow education, whoſe whole pittance of learning was confined within the magic circle of the laws, the doctrine of precedents, and practice of the courts, was by no means aware by what unmerciful ſtrokes a patriot and genius, like Dr Swift, could avenge upon him the cauſe both of himſelf and country. Whitſhed, armed with power, and ſure to be ſupported, in the virulent days of party, againſt all thoſe which adhered to their Tory principles, firſt gave the alarm to battle by an attack upon Waters the printer. Swift, armed with genius, and fired with a zeal for liberty and public intereſt, flew directly to the charge. But finding he had to deal with an adverſary unequal to the combat, he contented himſelf for the preſent with giving him three or four laſhes, and making him thoroughly contemptible in the eyes of the world. But ſoon after Swift had further occaſion for exerting all his powers againſt the unfortunate Whitſhed. *Swift.*

This treatiſe ſpread very faſt, upon which a perſon in great office ſent in haſte for the Chief Juſtice (Whitſhed) and informed him of a ſeditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet lately publiſhed, with a deſign of ſetting the two kingdoms

for the encouragement whereof there are ſo many ſtatute-laws in England, we countenance ſo well, that

kingdoms at variance, directing at the ſame time that the printer ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour. ——The *Chief Juſtice* had ſo quick an underſtanding that he reſolved, if poſſible, to outdo his orders.——The printer was ſeized, and forced to give great bail:——The jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmoſt induſtry: The *Chief Juſtice* ſent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until, being tired out, they were *forced* to leave the matter to the mercy of the *judge*, by what they call a *ſpecial verdict*. During the trial the *Chief Juſtice*, among other ſingularities, laid his hand on his breaſt, and proteſted ſolemnly that the author's deſign was to bring in the *Pretender*: But the cauſe being ſo very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon (the D. of G—ft-n) the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, his Grace, after mature advice and permiſſion from England, was pleaſed to grant a *noli proſequi*. See Swift's letter to Pope, of Jan. 10. 1721. *Hawkeſ.*

This piece firſt turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour.

When the author had finiſhed Gulliver's travels, he found an opening to indulge his love of politics, and to commence a patriot for Ireland: And he made uſe of the opportunity, by increaſing the natural jealouſy which the leſſer iſland conſtantly entertains of the greater. His treatiſe, or propoſal, immediately raiſed a very violent flame. The printer was proſecuted: And the proſecution had the ſame effect, which generally attends thoſe kind of meaſures; it added fewel to the flame. But his greateſt enemies muſt confeſs, that the pamphlet is written in the ſtyle of a man, who had the good of his country neareſt his heart; who ſaw her errors, and wiſhed to correct them; who felt her oppreſſions, and wiſhed to relieve them; and who had a deſire to rouſe and awaken

that the landlords are every-where by *penal clauſes* abſolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing *, not ſatisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the Engliſh; one effect of which is already ſeen in the prodigious dearneſs of corn, and the importation of it from London, as the cheaper market. And becauſe people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vaſt tracts of the beſt land, for the feeding of ſheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *hiſtory of the wiſe men of* Gotham, with a catalogue only of ſome *wonderful* laws and cuſtoms we have obſerved within thirty years paſt. It is true indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France hath been our only ſupport for ſeveral years paſt, furniſhing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents and go to market. But our merchants aſſure me, *this trade hath received a great damp by the preſent fluctuating condition of the coin in* France: *that moſt of their wine is paid for in*

an indolent nation from a lethargic diſpoſition, that might prove fatal to her conſtitution. *Orrery.*——See *An excellent new ſong on a ſeditious pamphlet*, Vol. XI.

* It was the practice of Iriſh farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing*, neither manuring nor letting it lie fallow; and when their leaſes were near expired, they ploughed even the meadows, and made ſuch havock, that the landlords, by their zeal to prevent it, were betrayed into this pernicious meaſure. *Hawkeſ.*

in ſpecie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence.

However, ſince we are ſo univerſally bent upon enlarging our *flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we ſhall do with our wool, in caſe Barnſtable * ſhould be over-ſtocked, and our French commerce ſhould fail?

I could wiſh the parliament had thought fit to have ſuſpended their regulation of *church* matters, and enlargements of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient time, becauſe they did not appear very preſſing, at leaſt to the perſons *principally concerned;* and, inſtead of theſe great refinements in *politics* and *divinity*, had *amuſed* themſelves and their committees a little with the *ſtate of the nation.* For example: What if the Houſe of Commons had thought fit to make a reſolution, *nemine contradicente*, againſt wearing any cloth or ſtuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it ſo far as utterly to exclude all ſilks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female fopperies; and declared that whoever acted otherwiſe, ſhould be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation?* What if they had ſent up ſuch a reſolution to be agreed to by the Houſe of Lords; and by their own practice and encouragement ſpread the execution of it in their ſeveral counties? What if we ſhould agree to make *burying in woollen a faſhion*, as our neighbours

* A ſea-port in Devonſhire, at that time the principal market in England for Iriſh wool. *Hawkeſ.*

bours have made it a *law?* What if the ladies would be content with Iriſh ſtuffs for the furniture of their houſes, for gowns and petticoats for themſelves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the reſt, let a firm reſolution be taken by *male* and *female* never to appear with one ſingle *ſhred* that comes from England; *and let all the people ſay*, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could pleaſe his Majeſty better than to hear, that his loyal ſubjects of both ſexes in this kingdom * celebrated his *birth-day* (now approaching) *univerſally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to ſave them from the brink of ruin? If the mens opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handſome in ſtuffs as in brocades; and, ſince all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chuſing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late Archbiſhop of Tuam mention a pleaſant obſervation of ſome body's; *that* Ireland *would never be happy until a law were made for burning every thing that came from* England, *except their people and their coals.* I muſt confeſs, that as to the former, I ſhould not be ſorry if they would ſtay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time we ſhall have no occaſion for them.

Non tanti mitra eſt, non tanti judicis oſtrum;

but

* Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Dorſet, the Lord Lieutenant's Lady, is ſaid to have appeared at the *caſtle* in Dublin, wholly clad in the manufacture of Ireland on his Majeſty's birth-day 1753. *Hawkeſ.*

but I ſhould rejoice to ſee a *ſtay-lace* from England be thought *ſcandalous*, and become a topic for *cenſure* at *viſits* and *tea-tables*.

If the unthinking ſhop-keepers in this town had not been utterly deſtitute of common ſenſe, they would have made ſome *propoſal to the parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpoſe I have mentioned: Promiſing to improve the *cloths and ſtuffs of the nation into all poſſible degrees of fineneſs and colours, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their cuſtom, by exacting and impoſing upon the nobility and gentry, either as to the prices or the goodneſs.* For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the *raſcally mercers* and *woollen-drapers* would in four and twenty hours raiſe their *cloths* and *ſilks* to above a double price; and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with *petitions* to the court, *that they were ready to ſtarve, and their fineries lay upon their hands.*

I could wiſh our ſhop-keepers would immediately think on this *propoſal*, addreſſing it to all perſons of quality and others; but firſt be ſure to get ſome body who can write ſenſe to put it into form.

I think it needleſs to exhort the *clergy* to follow this good example; becauſe *in a little time thoſe among them, who are ſo unfortunate to have had their birth and education in this country, will think themſelves abundantly happy, when they can afford* Iriſh *crape and an* Athlone *hat*: and as to the others, *I ſhall not preſume* to direct them. I have indeed

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ſeen the preſent Archbiſhop of Dublin * clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the roſe be it ſpoken, *his Grace deſerveth as good a gown, as if he had not been born among us.*

I have not courage enough to offer one ſyllable on this ſubject to *their honours* of the army; neither have I ſufficiently conſidered the great importance of *ſcarlet and gold-lace.*

The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpoſe. The goddeſs had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin very famous for *ſpinning* and *weaving:* They both met upon a trial of ſkill; and Pallas finding herſelf almoſt equalled in her own art, ſtung with rage and envy, knocked her *rival* down, and turned her into a ſpider; injoining her to *ſpin and weave* for ever *out of her own bowels*, and *in a very narrow compaſs.* I confeſs, that from a boy I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddeſs on account of *ſo cruel and unjuſt a ſentence*; which however, is fully *executed* upon *us* by England, with further additions of *rigour* and *ſeverity*; for the greateſt part of our *bowels* and *vitals* is extracted, without allowing us † the liberty of *ſpinning* and *weaving* them.

The

* Dr King.

† In the ſpring 1753, the parliament of England paſſed an act for permitting the exportation of wool, and woollen or bay yarn, from any port in Ireland to any port in England; which was before prohibited. And,

In the winter 1753, the Iriſh parliament prohibited the importation of gold and ſilver lace, except *of the manufacture of* England. *Hawkeſ.*

The ſcripture tells us, that *oppreſſion maketh a wiſe man mad;* therefore, conſequently ſpeaking, the reaſon why ſome men are not *mad*, is becauſe they are not *wiſe:* However, it were to be wiſhed, that *oppreſſion* would in time teach a little *wiſdom* to *fools.*

I was much delighted with a perſon, who hath a great eſtate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, *how grievouſly* poor England *ſuffers by impoſitions from* Ireland: That we *convey our own wool to* France *in ſpite of all the* harpies *at the cuſtom-houſe: That Mr* Shuttleworth, *and others on the* Cheſhire *coaſts, are ſuch fools to ſell us their* bark *at a good price for tanning* our own hides *into leather; with other enormities of the like weight and kind.* To which I will venture to add more; *that the* mayoralty *of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate ſalary, whereby* poor England *loſeth at leaſt one thouſand pounds a-year upon the balance: That the* governing *of this kingdom coſts the Lord Lieutenant three thouſand ſix hundred pounds a-year; ſo much net loſs to* poor England: *That the people of* Ireland *preſume to dig for coals* in their own grounds; *and the* farmers *in the county of* Wicklow *ſend their turf to the very market of* Dublin, *to the great diſcouragement of the coal-trade of* Moſtyn * *and* Whitehaven: *That the revenues of the* poſt-office *here, ſo righteouſly belonging to the* Engliſh *treaſury, as ariſing chiefly from our own commerce with each other,*

* Moſtyn in Flintſhire, and Whitehaven in Cumberland.

other, ſhould be remitted to London *clogged with that grievous burthen of exchange; and the penſions paid out of the* Iriſh *revenues to* Engliſh favourites *ſhould lie under the ſame diſadvantage, to the great loſs of the grantees. When a divine is ſent over to a* biſhoprick *here, with the hopes of five and twenty hundred pounds a-year, and upon his arrival he finds, alas! a dreadful diſcount of ten or twelve* per cent. *A* judge, *or a* commiſſioner *of the revenue, has the ſame cauſe of complaint.* Laſtly, *The ballad upon* Cotter *is vehemently ſuſpected to be* Iriſh *manufacture; and yet is allowed to be ſung in our open ſtreets, under the very* noſe of the government.

Theſe are a *few*, among the many hardſhips, we put upon that poor kingdom of England; for which, I am confident, every *honeſt* man wiſheth a *remedy:* And I hear, there is a project *on foot* for tranſporting our beſt wheaten *ſtraw* by ſea and land carriage to Dunſtable; and *obliging us by a law* to take off yearly ſo many *tun of ſtraw-hats* for the uſe of our women; which will be a *great encouragement* to the manufacture of that induſtrious town.

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law *to bind men without their own conſent* be obligatory *in foro conſcientiæ;* becauſe I find ſcripture, Sanderſon, and Suarez, are wholly ſilent on the matter. The oracle of *reaſon*, the great *law of nature*, and general opinion of *civilians*, where-ever they treat of *limited governments*, are indeed deciſive enough.

It is wonderful to obſerve the bias among our

people

people in favour of *things*, *perſons*, and *wares* of all kinds, that come from England. The *printer* tells his *hawkers*, that *he has got an excellent new ſong juſt brought from* London. I have ſomewhat of a tendency that way myſelf; and upon hearing a *coxcomb* from thence diſplaying himſelf with great volubility upon the' *park*, *the play-houſe*, *the opera*, *the gaming ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accompliſhments. It is not many years ſince I remember a *perſon*, who by his ſtyle and literature ſeems to have been the *corrector* of a hedge-preſs in ſome *blind-alley* about Little-Britain, proceed *gradually* to be an author, at leaſt a * *tranſlator* of a lower rate, although ſomewhat of a larger bulk than any that now *flouriſhes* in Grubſtreet; and upon the ſtrength of this foundation come over *here*, *erect* himſelf up into an *orator and politician*, and lead a *kingdom* after him. This, I am told, was the *very motive* that prevailed on the † *author* of a play called, *Love in a hollow-tree*, to do us the *honour* of a viſit; preſuming, with very good reaſon, *that he was a writer of a ſuperior claſs*. I know *another*, who for thirty years paſt hath been the *common ſtandard of ſtupidity in* England, where he was never heard a minute in any *aſſembly*, or by any *party*, with *common Chriſtian treatment*; yet upon his arrival hither could put on a *face of importance and autho-*

* Suppoſed to be Cæſar's *Commentaries*, dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, by Col. Bladen.

† Lord Grimſton.

rity, talk more than ſix, without either *gracefulneſs*, *propriety*, or *meaning*; and at the ſame time be admired and followed as the pattern of *eloquence* and *wiſdom*.

Nothing hath humbled me ſo much, or ſhewn a greater diſpoſition to a *contemptuous* treatment of Ireland in ſome chief *governors*, than that high ſtyle of ſeveral ſpeeches from the *throne*, delivered, as uſual, after the *royal aſſent*, in *ſome periods* of the two laſt *reigns*. Such exaggerarations of the prodigious *condeſcenſions* in the prince to paſs *thoſe good laws*, would have but an odd ſound at Weſtminſter: neither do I apprehend, how any *good law* can paſs, wherein the *king*'s intereſt is not as much concerned as that of the people. I remember, after a ſpeech on the like occaſion delivered by my Lord * Wharton, (I think it was his laſt) he deſired Mr Addiſon *to aſk my opinion on it*: My anſwer was, *That his Excellency had very honeſtly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph; wherein he aſſerted, by plain conſequence, a diſpenſing power in the Queen.* His Lordſhip owned *it was true*, but *ſwore* the words were *put into his mouth* by direct orders from court. From whence it is clear, that ſome *miniſters* in thoſe times were apt, from their *high* elevation, to look *down* upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their *colonies of outcaſts in* America. And I obſerved a little of the ſame turn of ſpirit in *ſome great men*, from whom I expected better; although, to

* Lord Lieutenant.

to do them great juſtice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them *correct their idea*, whereof the *whole nation* quickly found the benefit.—— But that is *forgotten*. How the ſtyle hath ſince run, I am wholly a ſtranger, having never ſeen a ſpeech ſince the laſt of the Queen.

I would now expoſtulate a little with our country-landlords; who, by unmeaſurable *ſcrewing* and *racking* their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miſerable *people* to a worſe *condition* than the *peaſants* in France, or the *vaſſals* in Germany and Poland; ſo that the whole *ſpecies* of what we call *ſubſtantial farmers*, will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleaſant to obſerve theſe gentlemen *labouring* with all their might for preventing the *biſhops* from letting their revenues at a moderate half value, (whereby * the whole *order* would in an age have been reduced to manifeſt beggary) at the very inſtant when they were everywhere *canting* † their own land upon ſhort leaſes, and ſacrificing their *oldeſt tenants for a penny an acre advance*. I know not how it comes to paſs, (and yet perhaps I know well enough) that *ſlaves* have a natural diſpoſition to be *tyrants*, and that when my *betters* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with ſix upon my *footman*; al-

* Whereby, that is, by *preventing* the biſhops revenues from being let at half value. See this poſition explained and proved in the tract called, *Arguments againſt enlarging the power of biſhops*, Vol. IV. *Hawkeſ.*

† *Canting* their land is letting it to the higheſt bidder.—Cant ſignifies the ſame as auction. *Hawkeſ.*

though perhaps he may be an honeſt and diligent fellow. I have heard *great* divines affirm, that *nothing is ſo likely to call down an univerſal judgement from heaven upon a nation, as univerſal oppreſſion*; and whether this be not already verified in part, *their worſhips*, the landlords, are *now* at full leiſure to conſider. Whoever travels this country, and obſerves the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits, and dwellings of the *natives*, will hardly think himſelf in a land where *law, religion, or common humanity*, is profeſſed.

I cannot forbear ſaying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town *. I never ſaw the *propoſals*, nor underſtand any one particular of their ſcheme: What I wiſh for at preſent, is only a ſufficient proviſion of *hemp*, and *caps*, and *bells*, to diſtribute according to the ſeveral degrees of *honeſty* and *prudence* in *ſome perſons*. I *hear* only of a monſtrous ſum already named; and if OTHERS do not ſoon hear of it too, and hear with a *vengeance*, then am I a gentleman of leſs ſagacity than myſelf, and a very few beſides, take me to be. And the jeſt will be ſtill the better if it be true, as judicious perſons have aſſured me, that one half is altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewiſe much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldſmiths to melt down our heavy ſilver.

A LET-

* This project for a *bank* in Ireland was ſoon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected. *Hawkeſ.*

A LETTER to the *Shop-keepers, Tradeſmen, Farmers*, and *Common People* of IRELAND, concerning the BRASS HALF-PENCE coined by one WILLIAM WOOD Hard-ware-man, with a deſign to have them paſs in this kingdom.

Wherein is ſhewn the power of his *patent*, the value of his *half-pence*, and how far every perſon may be obliged to take the ſame in payments, and how to behave himſelf, in caſe ſuch an attempt ſhould be made by Wood, or any other perſon.

(Very proper to be kept in every family.)

By M. B. DRAPIER. *

Written in the year 1724.

[About the year 1722, when Charles Duke of Grafton was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, one William Wood, an hard-ware-man and a bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper-money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000l. to paſs there as current money. The Dean believing this meaſure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be ſharers in the profits which would ariſe from the ruin of a kingdom, aſſumed the character of a *Draper*, which for ſome reaſon he choſe to write *Drapier*, and in the following letters warned the people not to receive the coin which was then ſent over.

* Dr Swift having retired from the political world, and amuſed himſelf for three or four years with poetry,

converſation, and trifles, (which is perhaps the fineſt teſt of a thorough conſummate genius, that is above all particular ſyſtems and hypocritical pretences to philoſophy,) being alarmed in 1724 with freſh matter of indignation to reſume his pen, boldly withſtood the whole force of an infamous projector, encouraged and ſupported in his villany by thoſe who were underſtood to be the chief directors in all public affairs. The project of this impudent fellow was, by virtue of a patent, which he had fraudulently obtained by the intereſt of the then favourite Chryſeis, to coin half-pence for Ireland, at about eleven parts in twelve under the real value, and force their currency in that kingdom; which, notwithſtanding his patent, ſuppoſing that he had made his half-pence ever ſo good, no man living was obliged, or, by virtue of the prerogative of the Crown, could be obliged to receive in any payment whatever; nothing being in truth the current coin of England or Ireland, beſides gold and ſilver of the right ſterling and ſtandard; the baſer metals being only accepted for the conveniency of change, which every man that pleaſes may reject whenever he thinks proper, without being afraid to incur any penalty from the law. This whole matter the Doctor laid open in a ſhort treatiſe, the Drapier's firſt letter. *Swift.*

The judicious reader cannot bnt obſerve, that in this letter the author hath adapted his ſtyle, his phraſes, his humour, and his addreſs, in a very wonderful manner, to the taſte and apprehenſion of the populace. Neither indeed is the title-page wholly void of that captivating rhetoric which is admired by the common people; for it concludes like that of the whole duty of man, *very proper to be kept in every family. Swift.*

LETTER

LETTER I.*

To the Tradeſmen, Shop-keepers, Farmers, and Country-people in general, of the kingdom of Ireland.

Brethren, *friends*, *countrymen*, and *fellow-ſubjects*,

WHAT I intend now to ſay to you, is, next to your duty to God and the care of your ſalvation, of the greateſt concern to yourſelves and

* The firſt five of the Drapier's letters were publiſhed in pamphlets at different times. The ſixth and ſeventh were firſt publiſhed in 1735, in the 4th volume of the Dublin edition of Dr Swift's works.

The ſixth and ſeventh of the Drapier's letters were procured from a friend of the author's, in the original manuſcript, as we are aſſured, and have good reaſon to believe: thoſe who are better judges, will ſoon determine whether they are genuine or not. It is the opinion of ſeveral wiſe men, that the Drapier's letters, and the other writings relating to our poor country [Ireland] may be very uſeful to poſterity, by warning them for the future to oppoſe the ſame, or the like evil deſigns, however plauſible they may at firſt appear to unthinking people; or however artfully they may be repreſented (like this deſtructive project of William Wood) by thoſe who were to divide the ſpoil with that impoſtor; or, laſtly, by proſtitute flatterers, who are ſure to find their private account in the ruin of the kingdom; which ruin would have certainly followed, if the author, whoever he was, had not publiſhed his letters in the moſt proper juncture, and fitted to all ſorts of readers: whereby in two or or three months he turned the whole nation, almoſt to a man, againſt that iniquitous ſcheme.——The letter to the Lord Chancellor Middleton is written with much caution, becauſe

and your children; your *bread* and *clothing*, and every common neceſſary of life, entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do moſt earneſtly exhort you as *men*, as *Chriſtians*, as *parents*, and as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper with the utmoſt attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the leſs expence, I have ordered the *printer* to ſell it at the loweſt rate.

It is a great fault among you, that when a perſon writes with no other intention than *to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices.* One

becauſe the anthor confeſſes himſelf to be Dean of St Patrick's; and I could diſcover his name ſubſcribed at the end of the original, although blotted out by ſome other hand. I can give no other reaſon why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the writer finding how effectually the Drapier had ſucceeded, and at the ſame time how highly the people in power ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, thought it more prudent to keep the paper in his cabinet.——There is but a ſmall part of the addreſs to both Houſes of parliament that relateth to Wood and his coin. The reſt contains ſeveral propoſals for the improvement of Ireland, the many diſcouragements it lies under, and what are the beſt remedies againſt them.——By many paſſages in the other letters, but particularly in the addreſs, concerning the great drain of money from Ireland by abſentees, importation of foreign goods, balance of trade, and the like, it appears that the author had taken much pains, and been well informed in the buſineſs of computing; all his reaſonings upon that ſubject, although he does not deſcend to particular ſums, agreeing generally with the accounts given by others, who have ſince made that inquiry their particular ſtudy. And it is obſervable, that in the addreſs, as well as in one of the other letters, he hath ſpecified ſeveral important articles that have not been taken notice of by others who came after him. *Dub. edit.*

One copy of this paper may ſerve a dozen of you, which will be leſs than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly that you have no common or general intereſt in your view, not even the wiſeſt among you; neither do you know, or inquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago, a little book was written, to adviſe all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear country* *. It had no other deſign, ſaid nothing againſt the *king* or *parliament*, or any perſon whatſoever; yet the poor *printer* was proſecuted two years with the utmoſt violence, and even ſome *weavers* themſelves (for whoſe ſake it was written) being upon the JURY, *found him guilty*. This would be enough to diſcourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains; and when he muſt expect only *danger to himſelf*, and to be fined and impriſoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifeſt deſtruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourſelves as you ought.

I will therefore firſt tell you the *plain ſtory of the fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country*.

The *fact* is this: It having been many years ſince COPPER HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGS were laſt coined in this kingdom, they have been for

* A propoſal for the uſe of Iriſh manufactures.

for ſome time very ſcarce, and many *counterfeits* paſſed about, under the name of *raps*: Several applications were made to England, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did; but they did not ſucceed. At laſt one Mr Wood, *a mean, ordinary man, a hardware-dealer*, procured a *patent*, under his *Majeſty's broad ſeal*, to coin 108,000*l.* in *copper* for this *kingdom*; which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unleſs they pleaſed. Now you muſt know, that the *half-pence* and *farthings* in England paſs for very little more than they are worth; and if you ſhould beat them to pieces, and ſell them to the *brazier*, you would not loſe much above a penny in a ſhilling. But Mr Wood made his *half-pence* of ſuch *baſe metal*, and ſo much ſmaller than the Engliſh ones, that the *brazier* would hardly give you above a *penny* of good money for a *ſhilling* of his: So that this ſum of 108,000*l.* in good gold and ſilver muſt be given for *traſh*, that will not be worth above *eight* or *nine thouſand pounds* real value. But this is not the worſt; for Mr Wood, when he pleaſes, may by ſtealth ſend over another 108,000*l.* and *buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve* under the value. For example, if a *hatter* ſells a dozen of *hats* for *five ſhillings* a-piece, which amounts to *three pounds*, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of *five ſhillings*.

Perhaps, you will wonder how ſuch an *ordinary fellow*, as this Mr Wood, could, have ſo much

much intereſt as to get his MAJESTY's broad ſeal for ſo great a ſum of bad money to be ſent to this poor country; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the ſame favour, and let us make our own *half-pence*, as we uſed to do. Now I will make that matter very plain: We are at a great diſtance from the King's *court*, and have no body there to ſolicit for us, although a great number of *lords* and *'ſquires*, whoſe eſtates are here, and are our countrymen, ſpend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there: but this ſame Mr Wood was able to attend conſtantly for his own intereſt; he is an Engliſhman, and had great friends, and it ſeems knew very well *where to give money* to thoſe that would ſpeak to others that could ſpeak to the King, and would tell a *fair ſtory*. And *his Majeſty*, and perhaps the great lord, or lords who adviſed him, might think it was for our own *country's good:* And ſo, as the lawyers expreſs it, the *King* was deceived in his grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am ſure if *his Majeſty* knew that ſuch a patent, if it ſhould take effect, according to the deſire of Mr Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given ſuch great proofs of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recal it, and perhaps ſhew his diſpleaſure to *ſome body or other:* But a *word to the wiſe is enough*. Moſt of you muſt have heard with what anger our *honourable Houſe of Commons* received an account of this Wood's *patent*. There were ſeveral *fine ſpeeches* made upon it, and plain proofs that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bot-*

tom

tom to the *top*; and ſeveral *ſmart votes* were printed, which that ſame Wood had the aſſurance to anſwer likewiſe in *print*, and in ſo confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

This Wood, as ſoon as his *patent* was paſſed, or ſoon after, ſends over a great many *barrels of thoſe half-pence* to Cork, and other ſea-port *towns*, and, to get them off, offered an *hundred pounds* in his coin for *ſeventy* or *eighty* in ſilver: but the *collectors* of the *King*'s cuſtoms very honeſtly refuſed to take them, and ſo did almoſt every body elſe. And ſince the parliament hath condemned them, and deſired the *King* that they might be ſtopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But Wood is ſtill working underhand to force his *half-pence* upon us; and if he can, by the help of his friends in England, prevail ſo far as to get an order that the *commiſſioners* and *collectors* of the *King*'s money ſhall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his work* ſhall be *done*. And this is the difficulty you will be under in ſuch a caſe; for the common ſoldier, when he goes to the *market* or *alehouſe*, will offer his money; and if it be refuſed, perhaps he will *ſwagger* and *hector*, and threaten to beat the *butcher* or *ale-wife*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *half-pence*. In this, and the like caſes, the *ſhop-keeper* or *victualler*, or any other *tradeſman*, has no more to do than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money; for example,

twenty

twenty-pence of that money for a *quart of ale*, and ſo in all things elſe, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For ſuppoſe you go to an *ale-houſe* with that baſe money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of thoſe *half-pence*, what muſt the *victualler* do? His *brewer* will not be paid in that coin, or if the *brewer* ſhould be ſuch a fool, the *farmers* will not take it from them for their * *bere*, becauſe they are bound, by their leaſes, to pay their rents in good and lawful money of England, which this is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the *'ſquire*, their landlord, will never be ſo bewitched to take ſuch *traſh* for his land; ſo that it muſt certainly ſtop ſomewhere or other; and where-ever it ſtops, it is the ſame thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of theſe *half-pence* is between four and five to an ounce; ſuppoſe five, then three ſhillings and four-pence will weigh a pound, and conſequently twenty ſhillings will weigh ſix pounds *butter-weight*. Now there are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred pounds a-year rent; therefore when one of theſe *farmers* comes with his half-year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at leaſt ſix hundred pound weight, which is three horſes load.

If a *'ſquire* has a mind to come to town to buy cloaths, and wine, and ſpices, for himſelf and family, or perhaps to paſs the winter here, he muſt bring with him five or ſix horſes loaden with

* A ſort of barley in Ireland.

ſacks, as the farmers bring their corn; and when his lady comes in her coach to our ſhops, it muſt be followed by a car loaded with Mr Wood's money. And I hope we ſhall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They ſay 'Squire Conolly * hath *ſixteen* thouſand pounds a-year; now if he ſends for his *rent* to town, as it is likely he doth, he muſt have two hundred and fifty *horſes* to bring up his half-year's *rent*, and two or three great cellars in his houſe for ſtowage. But what the *bankers* will do, I cannot tell: for I am aſſured, that ſome great *bankers* keep by them forty thouſand pounds in ready caſh, to anſwer all payments: which ſum, in Mr Wood's money, would require twelve hundred horſes to carry it.

For my own part, I am reſolved already what to do: I have a pretty good ſhop of Iriſh ſtuffs and *ſilks*; and inſtead of taking Mr Wood's bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the *butchers*, and *bakers*, and *brewers*; the reſt, *goods* for *goods*: and the little *gold* and *ſilver* I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am juſt ready to ſtarve, and then I will buy Mr Wood's money, as my father did the braſs-money in King James's time, who could buy *ten* pounds of it with a *guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a *piſtole*, and ſo purchaſe *bread* from thoſe who will be ſuch fools as to ſell it me.

Theſe *half-pence*, if they once paſs, will ſoon be

* Then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

be *counterfeited*, becauſe it may be cheaply done, the *ſtuff* is ſo *baſe*. The Dutch likewiſe will probably do the ſame thing, and ſend them over to us to pay for our *goods*; and Mr Wood will never be at reſt, but coin on; ſo that in ſome years we ſhall have at leaſt five times 108,000*l.* of this *lumber*. Now, the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thouſand pounds in all; and while there is a *ſilver* ſixpence left, theſe *blood-ſuckers* will never be quiet.

When once the *kingdom* is reduced to ſuch a condition, I will tell you what muſt be the end: The *gentlemen of eſtates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments, becauſe, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leaſes to pay *ſterling*, which is lawful current money of England: then they will turn their own *farmers*, as too many of them *do already*; run *all* into *ſheep* where they can, keeping only ſuch other cattle as are neceſſary; then they will be their own *merchants*, and ſend their *wool*, and *butter*, and *hides*, and *linen*, beyond ſea, for ready *money*, and *wine*, and *ſpices*, and *ſilks*. They will keep only a few miſerable *cottagers*; the *farmers* muſt *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their country; the *ſhop-keepers* in this and every other town muſt *break* and *ſtarve*; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *ſhop-keeper*, and *handicraftſman*.

But when the *'ſquire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himſelf, all the good money he gets from abroad

he will hoard up to ſend for England, and keep ſome poor *taylor* or *weaver*, and the like, in his own houſe, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I ſhould never have done, if I were to tell you all the miſeries that we ſhall undergo, if we be ſo *fooliſh* and *wicked* as to take this *curſed coin*. It would be very hard, if all Ireland ſhould be put into *one ſcale*, and this ſorry fellow Wood into the other, that Mr Wood ſhould weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their *pockets*: And that is more than the Engliſh do by *all the world* beſides.

But your *great comfort* is, that as his Majeſty's *patent* doth not oblige you to take this *money*, ſo the *laws* have not given the *crown* a power of forcing the *ſubject* to take what *money* the *King* pleaſes; for then, by the ſame reaſons, we might be bound to take *pebble-ſtones*, or *cockle-ſhells*, or *ſtamped leather*, for *current coin*, if ever we ſhould happen to live under an ill *prince*, who might likewiſe, by the ſame power, make a *guinea* paſs for *ten pounds*, a *ſhilling* for *twenty ſhillings*, and ſo on; by which he would, in a ſhort time, get all the ſilver and *gold* of the *kingdom* into his own hands, and leave us nothing but *braſs* or *leather*, or what he pleaſed. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppreſſive* in the French government, than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have ſunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much

much higher value; which, however, is not the thouſandth part ſo wicked as this *abominable project* of Mr Wood. For the French give their ſubjects *ſilver* for *ſilver*, and *gold* for *gold*; but this *fellow* will not ſo much as give us good *braſs* or *copper* for our *gold* and *ſilver*, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having ſaid this much, I will now go on to tell you the judgment of ſome great *lawyers* in this matter; whom I fee'd on purpoſe for your ſakes, and got their *opinions* under their *hands*, that I might be ſure I went upon good grounds.

A famous law-book, *called the* Mirrour of Juſtice, *diſcourſing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our* ancient kings, *declares the law to be as follows: It was ordained, that no* king *of this realm ſhould change or impair the* money, *or make any other* money *than of* gold *or* ſilver, *without the aſſent of all the counties; that is, as my* Lord Coke * *ſays, without the aſſent of parliament.*

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer *my Lord* Coke †. By the laws of England, ſeveral metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *falſe metal*: the former comprehends *ſilver* or *gold*, the latter all *baſer metals*: That the former is only to paſs in payments, appears by an act of *parliament* ‡ made the twentieth year of Edward *the firſt*, called,

* 1 Inſt. 576. † 2 Inſt. 576. 7.
‡ 2 Inſt. 577.

the ſtatute concerning the paſſing of pence; which I give you here as I got it tranſlated into Engliſh; for ſome of our *laws* at that time were, as I am told, written in *Latin: Whoever in buying or ſelling preſumes to refuſe an half-penny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the ſtamp which it ought to have, let him be ſeized on as a contemner of the King's Majeſty, and caſt into priſon.*

By the *ſtatute*, no perſon is to be reckoned a *contemner* of the *King's Majeſty*, and for that crime to be *committed to priſon*, but he who refuſeth to accept the King's coin made of *lawful metal;* by which, as I obſerved before, *ſilver* and *gold* only are intended.

That this is the true *conſtruction* of the *act*, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my Lord Coke's * obſervation upon it. By this act (ſays he) it appears, that no ſubject can be forced to take, in *buying* or *ſelling*, or other *payment*, any money made but of *lawful metal;* that is, of *ſilver* or *gold*.

The law of England gives the king all mines of *gold* and *ſilver;* but not the mines of other *metals*; the reaſon of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my Lord Coke †, is becauſe money can be made of *gold* and *ſilver*, but not of other *metals*.

Purſuant to this opinion, *half-pence* and *farthings were* anciently made of *ſilver*, which is evident from the act of *parliament* of Henry the fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows:

Item,

* 2 Inſt. 577. † 2 Inſt. 577.

Item, for the great ſcarcity that is at preſent within the realm of England *of half-pence and farthings of* ſilver, *it is ordained and eſtabliſhed, that the third part of all the money of* ſilver-plate *which ſhall be brought to the* bullion, *ſhall be made into* half-pence *and* farthings. This ſhews, that by the words *half-penny* and *farthing* of lawful money in that *ſtatute* concerning the *paſſing* of pence, is meant a ſmall coin in *half-pence* and *farthings* of *ſilver.*

This is further manifeſt from the ſtatute of the ninth year of Edward the third, chap. 3. which enacts, *that no ſterling* half-penny *or farthing be molten for to make veſſels, or any other thing, by the* goldſmiths, *nor others, upon the forfeiture of the* money *ſo molten (or melted).*

By another act in this king's reign, *black money* was not to be current in England. And, by an act made in the eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley half-pence* were not to paſs: What kind of coin theſe were, I do not know; but I preſume they were made of *baſe metal.* And theſe acts were no new *laws*, but further declarations of the old *laws* relating to the coin.

Thus the *law* ſtands in relation to *coin.* Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in Davis's *reports*, who tells us, that in the time of Tyrone's rebellion, Queen Elizabeth ordered *money* of *mixed metal* to be coined in the Tower of London, and ſent over hither for the payment of the *army*, obliging all people to receive it; and commanding that all *ſilver money* ſhould be taken only

only as *bullion*; that is, for as much as it weighed. Davis tells us ſeveral particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *Privy-council* of this kingdom obliged a *merchant* in England to receive this *mixt money* for goods tranſmitted hither.

But this proceeding is rejected by all the beſt lawyers, as contrary to law, the *Privy-council* here having no ſuch legal power. And beſides, it is to be conſidered, that the QUEEN was then under great difficulties by a *rebellion* in this *kingdom*, aſſiſted from Spain; and whatever is done in great exigencies and dangerous times, ſhould never be an example to proceed by in ſeaſons of *peace* and *quietneſs*.

I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the trouble, ſet before you in ſhort, what the *law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

Firſt, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the Engliſh ſtandard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *ſilver*.

Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *ſilver*; not only the *half-pence* or *farthings* of England, but of any other country. And it is merely for convenience, or eaſe, that you are content to take them; becauſe the cuſtom of coining ſilver *half-pence* and *farthings* hath long been left off, I ſuppoſe on account of their being ſubject to be loſt.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, much leſs are we obliged to take thoſe *vile half-pence* of that ſame Wood, by which you muſt loſe almoſt eleven pence in every ſhilling.

Therefore, my friends, ſtand to it one and all: Refuſe this *filthy traſh*. It is no treaſon to rebel againſt Mr Wood. His *Majeſty*, in his patent, obliges no body to take theſe *half-pence*: Our *gracious prince* hath no ſuch ill adviſers about him; or if he had, yet you ſee the laws have not left it in the *King's* power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right ſtandard, *gold* and *ſilver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me, in the next place, apply myſelf particularly to you, who are the poorer ſort of *tradeſmen*. Perhaps you may think you will not be ſo great loſers as the rich, if theſe *half-pence* ſhould paſs; becauſe you ſeldom ſee any *ſilver*, and your cuſtomers come to your ſhops or ſtalls with nothing but *braſs*, which you likewiſe find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry theſe *half-pence* to a ſhop for *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the ſhop-keeper will advance his goods accordingly, or elſe he muſt break, and leave the *key under the door*. *Do you think I will ſell you a yard of ten-penny ſtuff for* twenty *of Mr* Wood's *half-pence? No, not under* two hundred *at leaſt*; *neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump.*

lump. I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr Wood's project ſhould take, it would ruin even our *beggars*; for when I give a *beggar* a half-penny, it will quench his thirſt, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a half-penny will do him no more ſervice, than if I ſhould give him three pins out of my ſleeve.

In ſhort, theſe *half-pence* are like the *accurſed thing*, which, as the *ſcripture* tells us, *the children of* Iſrael were forbidden to *touch*. They will run about *like the plague, and deſtroy every one who lays his hands upon them.* I have heard *ſcholars* talk of a man who told the King, that he had invented a way to torment people by putting them into a *bull of braſs* with fire under it: But the *prince* put the *projector* firſt into his *brazen bull*, to make the experiment. This very much reſembles the *project* of Mr Wood; and the like of this may poſſibly be Mr Wood's fate, that the *braſs* he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his deſtruction at laſt.

N. B. The author of this paper is informed by perſons, who have made it their buſineſs to be exact in their obſervations on the true value of theſe *half-pence*, that any perſon may expect to get a quart of *two-penny ale* for *thirty-ſix* of them.

I deſire that all *families* may keep this paper carefully by them, to refreſh their memories, whenever

whenever they ſhall have further notice of Mr Wood's half-pence, or any other the like impoſture*.

LETTER

* At the ſound of the *Drapier's* trumpet, a ſpirit aroſe among the people, that, in the eaſtern phraſe, was *like unto a tempeſt in the day of the whirlwind.* Every perſon of every rank, party, and denomination, was convinced, that the admiſſion of Wood's copper muſt prove fatal to the commonwealth. The Papiſt, the Fanatic, the Tory, the Whig, all liſted themſelves voluntiers under the banner of *M. B. Drapier*, and were all equally zealous to ſerve the common cauſe. Much heat, and many fiery ſpeeches againſt the adminiſtration, were the conſequence of this union: Nor had the flames been allayed, notwithſtanding threats and proclamations, had not the coin been totally ſuppreſſed, and had not Wood withdrawn his patent. *Orrery.*——See the note at the end of letter V.

LETTER II.

A LETTER to Mr Harding the printer, upon occaſion of a paragraph in his news-paper of Aug. 1. 1724, relating to Mr WOOD's HALF-PENCE.

IN your news-letter of the firſt inſtant there is a paragraph, dated from London, July 25th, relating to Wood's half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *letter to the ſhop-keepers*, &c. that this vile fellow would never be at reſt, and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires *new* and *freſh warning*. However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great meaſure, an impoſition upon the public; at leaſt I hope ſo, becauſe I am informed that Wood is generally his own news-writer; I cannot but obſerve from that paragraph, that this public enemy of ours, not ſatisfied to ruin us with his *traſh*, takes every occaſion to treat this kingdom with the utmoſt contempt. He repreſents *ſeveral of our merchants and traders, upon examination before a committee of council, agreeing, that there was the utmoſt neceſſity of copper-money here, before his patent; ſo that ſeveral gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards ſealed and ſubſcribed with their names.* What then? If a phyſician preſcribe to a patient a *dram*

of

of phyſic, ſhall a raſcal apothecary cram him with a *pound*, and mix it up with *poiſon?* and is not a landlord's hand and ſeal to his own labourers a better ſecurity for five or ten ſhillings, than Wood's braſs, ten times below the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thouſand pounds?

But who are theſe *merchants and traders of* Ireland that made this report of *the utmoſt neceſſity we are under for copper-money?* They are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with Wood, from whom they are to purchaſe a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the ruin of the public, and their own private advantages. Are not theſe excellent witneſſes, upon whoſe integrity the fate of the kingdom muſt depend, evidences in their own cauſe, and ſharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deſerved the liberty of coining for ourſelves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, *is every body's wonder, as well as mine*, ten thouſand pounds might have been coined here in Dublin of only one-fifth below the intrinſic value, and this ſum, with the ſtock of half-pence we then had, would have been ſufficient; but Wood, by his emiſſaries, enemies to GOD and this kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old half-pence as he could; and from thence the preſent want of change ariſes; to remove which, by Mr Wood's remedy, would be to cure a ſcratch on the finger by cut-

ting off the arm. But ſuppoſing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thouſand pounds would be a ſum fully ſufficient to anſwer all our occaſions. I am no inconſiderable ſhopkeeper in this town; I have diſcourſed with ſeveral of my own, and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and alſo with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree, that two ſhillings in change for every family would be more than neceſſary in all dealings. Now, by the largeſt computation (even before that grievous diſcouragement of *agriculture* *, which hath ſo much leſſened our numbers) the ſouls in this kingdom are computed to be one million and a half; which, allowing ſix to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thouſand families, and conſequently two ſhillings to each family will amount only to five and twenty thouſand pounds; whereas this *honeſt*, *liberal*, *hard-ware-man*, Wood, would impoſe upon us above *four times* that ſum.

Your paragraph relates further, that Sir Iſaac Newton reported an *aſſay* taken at the Tower of Wood's metal, by which it appears, that Wood had *in all reſpects performed his contract*. His contract! With whom? Was it with the parliament or people of Ireland? Are not they to be the purchaſers? But they deteſt, abhor, and reject it as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and traſh. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law,

* Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing. See p. 330.

law, and will impoſe his goods upon us by force.

But your news-letter ſays, that an *aſſay* was made of the coin. How impudent and inſupportable is this! Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two half-pence of good metal, ſends them to the Tower, and they are approved; and theſe muſt anſwer all that he hath already coined, or ſhall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often ſends to my ſhop for a pattern of ſtuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or ſends, and compares the *pattern* with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred ſheep, and the grazier ſhould bring me one ſingle wedder fat and well fleeced, by way of *pattern*, and expect the ſame price round for the whole hundred, without ſuffering me to ſee them before he was paid, or giving me good ſecurity to reſtore my money for thoſe that were *lean*, or *ſhorn*, or *ſcabby*, I would be none of his cuſtomer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to ſell his houſe, and therefore carried a piece of *brick* in his pocket, which he ſhewed as a *pattern* to encourage purchaſers; and this is directly the caſe in point with Mr Wood's *aſſay*.

The next part of the paragraph contains Mr Wood's voluntary propoſals for *preventing any further objections or apprehenſions*.

His firſt propoſal is, *That where he hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds, and has copper prepared to make it up forty thouſand pounds, he will be content to coin no more, unleſs the* EXI-

GENCIES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, *although his patent impowers him to coin a far greater quantity.*

To which if I were to anſwer, it ſhould be thus: Let Mr Wood and his crew of *founders* and tinkers coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them coin old leather, tobacco-pipe clay, or the dirt in the ſtreet, and call their trumpery by what name they pleaſe, from a guinea to a farthing; we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themſelves. But I hope, and truſt, that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware.

The King has given him a patent to coin half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already ſhewn in my *letter to the ſhop-keepers, &c.* that the law hath not left it in the power of the *prerogative* to compel the ſubject to take any money, beſides gold and ſilver of the right ſterling ſtandard.

Wood further propoſes, (if I underſtand him right, for his expreſſions are dubious), that *he will not coin above forty thouſand pounds, unleſs the exigencies of trade require it.* Firſt, I obſerve that this ſum of *forty thouſand pounds* is almoſt double to what I proved to be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old half-pence left. Again, I aſk, who is to be judge when the *exigencies of trade require it?* Without doubt he means *himſelf;* for, as to us of this poor kingdom, who muſt be utterly ruined

ruined if this project ſhould ſucceed, we were never *once* conſulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our *exigencies* by his own; neither will theſe be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices ſhall think they have enough: And it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and ſilver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the ſame coin.

I ſhall not enter into examination of the prices, for which he now propoſes to ſell his half-pence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have ſaid enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewiſe been conſidered by others. It is certain, that by his own firſt computation we were to pay three ſhillings for what was intrinſically worth but one, although it had been of the true weight and ſtandard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is ſo great a difference, both in weight and badneſs, in ſeveral of his coins, that ſome of them have been nine in ten below the intrinſic value, and moſt of them ſix or ſeven.

His laſt propoſal, being of a peculiar ſtrain and nature, deſerves to be very particularly conſidered, both on account of the matter and the ſtyle. It is as follows:

Laſtly, *In conſideration of the direful apprehenſions which prevail in* Ireland, *that Mr* Wood *will by ſuch coinage drain them of their gold and ſilver; he propoſes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no perſon be* obliged *to receive more than fivepence half-penny at one payment.*

Firſt, obſerve this little impudent *hard-ware-man* turning into ridicule *the direful apprehenſions of a whole kingdom*, priding himſelf as the cauſe of them, and daring to preſcribe (what no king of England ever attempted) how far a whole nation ſhall be obliged to take his braſs coin. And he has reaſon to inſult: For ſure there was never an example in hiſtory of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter deſtruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thouſand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt adminiſtration, but by one ſingle, diminutive, inſignificant mechanic.

But to go on: To remove our *direful apprehenſions, that he will drain us of our gold and ſilver by his coinage*, this little arbitrary *mock monarch* moſt graciouſly offers to *take our manufactures in exchange*. Are our Iriſh underſtandings indeed ſo low in his opinion? Is not this the very miſery we complain of, that his curſed project will put us under the neceſſity of ſelling our goods for what is equal to *nothing?* How would ſuch a propoſal ſound from France or Spain, or any other country with which we traffic, if they ſhould offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we ſhould take their money at ten times higher than the intrinſic value? Does Mr Wood think, for inſtance, that we will ſell him a ſtone of wool for a parcel of his *counters* not worth *ſixpence*, when we can ſend it to England,

and

and receive as many ſhillings in gold and ſilver? Surely there was never heard ſuch a compound of impudence, villainy, and folly.

His propoſals conclude with perfect *high-treaſon*. He promiſes, that *no perſon ſhall be* obliged *to receive more than fivepence half-penny of his coin in one payment*. By which it is plain, that he pretends to *oblige* every ſubject in this kingdom to take ſo much in every payment, if it be offered; whereas his patent *obliges* no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim ſuch a power, as I have often obſerved; ſo that here Mr Wood takes upon him the *entire legiſlature*, and an abſolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are this wretch's *adviſers?* who are his *ſupporters*, *abettors*, *encouragers*, *or ſharers?* Mr Wood will *oblige* me to take fivepence half-penny of his braſs in every payment. And I will ſhoot Mr Wood and his deputies through the head like *highwaymen or houſebreakers*, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hunderd pounds. It is no loſs of honour to ſubmit to the *lion*; but who, with the figure of a *man*, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a *rat?* He has laid a tax upon the people of Ireland of ſeventeen ſhillings at leaſt in the pound: A tax, I ſay, not only upon lands, but intereſt-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftſmen, labourers, and ſervants. Shop-keepers, look to yourſelves! Wood will *oblige* and force you

you to take fivepence half-penny of his traſh in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or elſe you can hardly find bread: And pray conſider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five-pence-half-penny is nine ſhillings and twopence, which is above an hundred and ſixty pounds a-year, wherein you will be loſers of at leaſt one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr Wood on ſuch conditions, you may; but for my own particular, *let his money periſh with him.* If the famous Mr Hambden rather choſe to go to priſon than pay a few ſhillings to King Charles I. without authority of parliament, I will rather chuſe to be *hanged*, than have all my ſubſtance taxed at ſeventeen ſhillings in the pound, at the arbitrary will and pleaſure of the venerable Mr Wood.

The paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to ſay, *nota bene*, or *mark well*) *No evidence appeared from* Ireland, *or elſewhere, to prove the miſchiefs complained of, or any abuſes whatſoever committed in the execution of the ſaid grant.*

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. Firſt, the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, which repreſents the whole people of the kingdom, and, ſecondly, the Privy-council, addreſſed his Majeſty againſt theſe half-pence: What could be done more to expreſs the univerſal ſenſe of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely againſt it, would

would not that be ſufficient to reject it? Muſt a committee of the whole Houſe of Commons, and our whole Privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr Wood? To what end did the King give his patent for coining half-pence in Ireland? Was it not becauſe it was repreſented to his Sacred Majeſty, that ſuch a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his ſubjects here? It is to the patentee's peril, if his repreſentation be falſe, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he ſo wicked and fooliſh to think, that his patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or fourſcore thouſand pounds to himſelf? Before he was at the charge of paſſing a patent, much more of raking up ſo much filthy droſs, and ſtamping it with his Majeſty's *image and ſuperſcription*, ſhould he not firſt, in common ſenſe, in common equity, and common manners, have conſulted the principal party concerned; that is to ſay, the people of the kingdom, the Houſe of Lords, or Commons, or the Privy-council? If any foreigner ſhould aſk us, *whoſe image and ſuperſcription there is on* Wood's coin? we ſhould be aſhamed to tell him, it was Cæſar's. In that great want of copper half-pence which he alledges we were, our city ſet up *our* Cæſar's * ſtatue in excellent copper, at an expence that is equal in value to thirty

* An equeſtrian ſtatue of George I. at Eſſex-bridge, Dublin.

thirty thouſand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worſe metal.

I obſerve many of our people putting a melancholy caſe on this ſubject. It is true, ſay they, we are all undone if Wood's half-pence muſt paſs; but what ſhall we do, if his Majeſty puts out a *proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath often been dinned in my ears. But I deſire my countrymen to be aſſured, that there is nothing in it. The King never iſſues out a *proclamation* but to enjoin what the law permits him. He will not iſſue out a *proclamation* againſt *law*; or if ſuch a thing ſhould happen by a miſtake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Beſides, his Majeſty will never command us by a *proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the *patent* itſelf. There he leaves it to our diſcretion; ſo that our deſtruction muſt be entirely owing to ourſelves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a *proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it ſhould, yet upon this occaſion will be of no force. The King's revenues here are near four hundred thouſand pounds a-year. Can you think his miniſters will adviſe him to take them in Wood's braſs, which will reduce the value to fifty thouſand pounds? England gets a million *ſterling* by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almoſt reduced to nothing: And do you think thoſe, who live in England upon Iriſh eſtates, will be content to take

take an eighth or tenth part, by being paid in Wood's drofs?

If Wood and his *confederates* were not convinced of our ſtupidity, they never would have attempted ſo audacious an enterpriſe. He now ſees a ſpirit hath been raiſed againſt him, and he only watches till it begins to flag; he goes about *watching* when to *devour* us. He hopes we ſhall be weary of contending with him; and at laſt, out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with oppoſition, we ſhall be forced to yield; and therefore, I confeſs, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your ſpirits and reſentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your necks; if I point to it before your eyes, muſt I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's *hearts waxed groſs?* are *their ears dull of hearing?* and have *they cloſed their eyes?* I fear there are ſome few *vipers* among us, who for ten or twenty pounds gain would ſell their ſouls and their country; although at laſt it ſhould end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf adder, who refuſeth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely.*

Although my letter be directed to you, Mr Harding, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no intereſt in this affair, but what is common to the public: I can live better than many others: I have ſome gold and ſilver by me, and a ſhop well furniſhed; and ſhall be able to make

a ſhift, when many of my betters are ſtarving. But I am grieved to ſee the coldneſs and indifference of many people with whom I diſcourſe. Some are afraid of a *proclamation*; others ſhrug up their ſhoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do? Some give out there is no danger at all: others are comforted that it will be a common calamity, and they ſhall fare no worſe than their neighbours. Will not a man, who hears midnight-robbers at his door, get out of bed, and raiſe his family, for a common defence? and ſhall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr Wood comes at the head of his *confederates* to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our poſterity for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to ſave your life; but, God be thanked, Mr Wood cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your ſide: When he or his accomplices offer you his droſs, it is but ſaying *no*, and you are ſafe. If a madman ſhould come into my ſhop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of ſtuff, I would pity, or laugh at him; or, if his behaviour deſerved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr Wood comes to demand my gold and ſilver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and ſilver, in exchange for his traſh, can he deſerve or expect better treatment?

When the *evil-day* is come (if it muſt come) let us mark and obſerve thoſe who preſume to offer

offer the half-pence in payment. Let their names and trades, and places of abode, be made public, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr Wood. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the firſt honeſt diſcoverer give the word about, that Mr Wood's half-pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted to ſay all that this melancholy ſubject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one propoſal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this deſtructive project at once. Let ſome ſkilful judicious pen draw up an *advertiſement* to the following purpoſe:

Whereas one William Wood, *hard-ware-man, now or lately ſojourning in the city of* London, *hath, by many miſrepreſentations, procured a patent for coining an hundred and eight thouſand pounds in copper half-pence for this kingdom; which is a ſum five times greater than our occaſions require: And whereas it is notorious, that the ſaid* Wood *hath coined his half-pence of ſuch baſe metal, and falſe weight, that they are at leaſt ſix parts in ſeven below the real value: And whereas we have reaſon to apprehend, that the ſaid* Wood *may at any time hereafter clandeſtinely coin as many more half-pence as he pleaſes: And whereas the ſaid patent neither doth, nor can* oblige *his Majeſty's ſubjects to receive the ſaid half-pence in any payment, but leaves it to*

their voluntary choice; becauſe by law the ſubject cannot be obliged *to take any money, except* gold *or* ſilver: *And whereas, contrary to the letter and meaning of the ſaid patent, the ſaid* Wood *hath declared, that every perſon ſhall be* obliged *to take five-pence half-penny of his coin in every payment: And whereas the Houſe of Commons, and Privy-council, have ſeverally addreſſed his moſt ſacred Majeſty, repreſenting the ill conſequences which the ſaid* coinage *may have upon this kingdom: And, laſtly, whereas it is univerſally agreed, that the whole nation to a man (except Mr* Wood *and his* confederates) *are in the utmoſt apprehenſions of the ruinous conſequences that muſt follow from the ſaid* coinage: *Therefore we, whoſe names are underwritten, being perſons of conſiderable eſtates in this kingdom, and reſiders therein, do unanimouſly reſolve and declare, that we will never receive one farthing or half-penny of the ſaid* Wood's *coining; and that we will direct all our tenants to refuſe the ſaid coin from any perſon whatſoever; of which that they may not be ignorant, we have ſent them a* copy *of this* advertiſement, *to be read to them by our ſtewards, receivers,* &c.

I could wiſh that a paper of this nature might be drawn up, and ſigned by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom, and printed copies thereof ſent to their ſeveral tenants. I am deceived if any thing could ſooner defeat this execrable deſign of Wood and his *accomplices*. This would immediately give the alarm, and ſet the kingdom on their guard; this

would

would give courage to the meaneſt tenant and cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true,* &c.

I muſt tell you in particular, Mr Harding, that you are much to blame. Several hundred perſons have inquired at your houſe for my *letter to the ſhop-keepers*, &c. and you had none to ſell them. Pray keep yourſelf provided with that letter, and with this: You have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your ſake, any more than I do now. Pray advertiſe both in every new paper; and let it not be your fault or mine, if our countrymen will not take warning. I deſire you likewiſe to ſell them as cheap as you can.

I am your ſervant,

M. B.

Aug. 4. 1724.

LETTER III.

Some OBSERVATIONS upon a paper, called, *The Report of the Committee of the Moſt Honourable the Privy-council in* England, *relating to* Wood's *Half-pence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom of Ireland.

HAVING already written *two letters* to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very preſſing occaſion for writing a *third*, I thought I could not more properly addreſs it than to your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*.

The occaſion is this: A printed paper was ſent to me on the 18th inſtant, intitled, *A* report *of the committee of the Lords of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable* Privy-council *in* England, *relating to* Mr Wood's *half-pence and farthings*. There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I ſuppoſe it to have been in Dublin: and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the Gazette, but in the London *Journal*, or ſome other print of no authority or conſequence. And for any thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to *fright* us; or a *project* of ſome printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publiſhing ſomething upon a ſubject which

which now employs all our thoughts in this *kingdom*. Mr Wood, in publiſhing this paper, would inſinuate to the world, as if the *committee* had a greater concern for his credit and private emolument, than for the honour of the *Privy-council* and both *Houſes of parliament* here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it ſeems intended as a vindication of Mr Wood, not without ſeveral ſevere reflections on the Houſes of *Lords* and *Commons* of Ireland.

The whole is indeed written with the turn and air of a pamphlet; as if it were a diſpute between William Wood on the one part, and the *Lords-juſtices*, *Privy-council*, and *both Houſes of parliament* on the other: the deſign of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other ſide with caſting raſh and groundleſs aſperſions upon him.

But if it be really what the title imports, Mr Wood hath treated the *committee* with great rudeneſs, by publiſhing an act of theirs in ſo unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the *government* and *privy-council* of Ireland; to whom the committee adviſed that it ſhould be tranſmitted. But, with all deference be it ſpoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in England is *hitherto* a law in either *kingdom*; and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains diſputable by every ſubject.

This (may it pleaſe your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*) may ſeem a ſtrange way of diſcourſing in an *illi-*

terate ſhop-keeper. I have endeavoured (although without the help of books) to improve that ſmall portion of reaſon God hath been pleaſed to give me; and when reaſon plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for inſtance, if any lawyer ſhould tell me that ſuch a point were law, from which many groſs palpable abſurdities muſt follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir Edward Coke ſhould poſitively aſſert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a *limited prince* could by his *prerogative* oblige his ſubjects to take half an ounce of lead, ſtamped with his image, for twenty ſhillings in gold, I ſhould ſwear he was *deceived*, or a *deceiver*; becauſe a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch; yet this in effect is what Wood hath advanced in ſome of his papers; and what ſuſpicious people may poſſibly apprehend from ſome paſſages in that which is called the *report*.

That paper mentions *ſuch perſons to have been examined, who were* deſirous *and* willing *to be heard upon that ſubject.* I am told there were four in all: Coleby, B——, Mr Finley the banker, and one more, whoſe name I know not. The firſt of theſe was tried for robbing the treaſury in Ireland: and though he was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every perſon in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, ſince I have gone ſo far as to mention particular perſons, it may be ſome ſatisfaction to know

know who is this Wood himſelf, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almoſt two years together. I find he is in the patent intituled *eſquire*, although he were underſtood to be only a *hard-ware-man*; and ſo I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a *'ſquire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in Shropſhire; where pretending to have been robbed, and ſuing the county, he was caſt, and for the infamy of the fact loſt his employment.

I have heard another ſtory of this 'ſquire Wood from a very honourable lady, that one Hamilton told her. Hamilton was ſent for ſix years ago by Sir Iſaac Newton to try the coinage of four men, who then ſolicited a patent for coining half-pence for Ireland; their names were Wood, Coſtor, Elliſton, and Parker. Parker made the faireſt offer, and Wood the worſt: for his coin were three half-pence in a pound weight leſs value than the other. By which it is plain with what intentions he ſolicited his patent; but not ſo plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the ſaid paper called the *report*, that upon repeated orders from a ſecretary of ſtate for ſending over ſuch papers and witneſſes, as ſhould be thought proper to ſupport the objections made againſt the patent, (by both Houſes of parliament) the *Lord Lieutenant* repreſented *the great difficulty he found himſelf in to comply with theſe orders: that none of the principal members of both Houſes who were in the King's ſervice*,

vice, or council, would take upon them to adviſe, how any material perſon, or papers, might be ſent over on this occaſion, &c. And this is often repeated, and repreſented as *a proceeding that ſeems very extraordinary, that, in a matter which had raiſed ſo great a* clamour *in* Ireland, *no one perſon could be prevailed upon to come over from* Ireland *in ſupport of the united ſenſe of both Houſes of parliament in* Ireland; *eſpecially that the chief difficulty ſhould ariſe from a general apprehenſion of a miſcarriage, in an inquiry before his Majeſty, or in a proceeding by due courſe of law, in a caſe where both Houſes of parliament had declared themſelves ſo fully convinced and ſatisfied, upon evidence and examination taken in the moſt ſolemn manner.*

How ſhall I, a poor ignorant ſhop-keeper, utterly unſkilled in law, be able to anſwer ſo weighty an objection? I will try what can be done by plain reaſon, unaſſiſted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion, the committee of council hath already prejudged the whole caſe, by calling the united ſenſe of both *Houſes of parliament* in Ireland an *univerſal clamour.* Here the addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of Ireland againſt a ruinous, deſtructive project of an *obſcure, ſingle undertaker,* is called a *clamour.* I deſire to know, how ſuch a ſtyle would be reſented in England from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many *impeachments* would follow upon it? But ſuppoſing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wiſe miniſter,

miniſter, who deſpiſed the *univerſal clamour* of a people; and if that *clamour* can be quieted by diſappointing the fraudulent practice of a ſingle perſon, the purchaſe is not exorbitant.

But, in anſwer to this objection, firſt it is manifeſt, that if this coinage had been in Ireland, with ſuch limitations as have been formerly ſpecified in other patents, and granted to perſons of this *kingdom*, or even of England, able to give ſufficient ſecurity, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr Knox's patent mentioned in the *report*, ſecurity was given into the Exchequer, that the *patentee* ſhould upon all demands be obliged to receive his *half-pence* back, and pay gold or ſilver in exchange for them. And Mr Moor (to whom I ſuppoſe that patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off coining before the end of that year by the great crouds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the ſame reaſon. This entirely alters the caſe; for there is no ſuch condition in Wood's patent: which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatſoever.

Put the caſe, that the two Houſes of *Lords* and *Commons of* England, and the *Privy-council* there, ſhould addreſs his Majeſty to recall a *patent*, from whence they apprehended the moſt ruinous conſequences to the whole kingdom; and, to make it ſtronger if poſſible, that the whole nation almoſt to a man ſhould thereupon diſcover

diſcover the *moſt diſmal apprehenſions* (as Mr Wood ſtyles them) would his Majeſty debate half an hour what he had to do? would any miniſter dare adviſe him againſt recalling ſuch a patent? or would the matter be referred to the *Privy-council*, or to Weſtminſter-hall; the two Houſes of *parliament* plaintiffs, and William Wood defendant? And is there even the ſmalleſt difference between the two caſes?

Were not the people of Ireland born as *free* as thoſe of England? how have they forfeited their freedom? Is not their *parliament* as fair a *repreſentative* of the *people* as that of England? and hath not their Privy-council as great, or a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs? Are they not ſubjects of the ſame King? does not the ſame *ſun* ſhine upon them? and have they not the ſame God for their protector? Am I a *freeman* in England, and do I become a *ſlave* in ſix hours by croſſing the channel? No wonder then if the boldeſt perſons were cautious to interpoſe in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation, or to preſume to repreſent the repreſentatives of the kingdom; and were juſtly apprehenſive of meeting ſuch a treatment as they would deſerve at the next ſeſſion. It would ſeem very extraordinary, if an inferior court in England ſhould take a matter out of the hands of the high court of parliament during a prorogation, and decide it againſt the opinion of both Houſes.

It happens however, that although no perſons were

were ſo bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made againſt this *patent* by the *high court of parliament* here, yet theſe objections ſtand good, notwithſtanding the anſwers made by Mr Wood and his *council.*

The *report* ſays, that, *upon an aſſay made of the fineneſs, weight, and value of this copper, it exceeded in every article.* This is poſſible enough in the pieces upon which the *aſſay* was made; but Wood muſt have failed very much in point of dexterity, if he had not taken care to provide a ſufficient quantity of ſuch *half-pence* as would bear the trial; which he was well able to do, although *they were taken out of ſeveral parcels;* ſince it is now plain, that the bias of favour hath been wholly on his ſide.

But what need is there of diſputing, when we have a poſitive demonſtration of Wood's fraudulent practices in this point. I have ſeen a large quantity of theſe *half-pence* weighed by a very ſkilful perſon, which were of four different kinds, three of them conſiderably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between theſe four ſorts; by which it appears, that the fourth ſort, or the lighteſt, differs from the firſt to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, the *patentee* will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty-four thouſand four hundred and ninety-four pounds; and in the whole the public will be a loſer of eighty-two thouſand one hundred and ſixty-eight pounds ſixteen

ſixteen ſhillings, even ſuppoſing the metal, in point of goodneſs, to anſwer Wood's contract, and the *aſſay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewiſe been inquired into by very experienced men; who, upon ſeveral trials on many of theſe *half-pence*, have found them to be at leaſt one fourth part below the real value, not including the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he, or his *accomplices*, have already made of *his own coin*, and ſcattered about. Now the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lighteſt ſort of his *half-pence*, will amount to one hundred twenty-two thouſand four hundred eighty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings; and if we ſubtract a fourth part of the real value by the *baſe mixture* in the metal, we muſt add to the public loſs one fourth part, to be ſubtracted from the intrinſic value of the copper; which in three hundred and ſixty tons amounts to ten thouſand and eighty pounds; and this, added to the former ſum of eighty-two thouſand one hundred ſixty-eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, will make in all ninety-two thouſand two hundred forty-eight pounds loſs to the public; beſides the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *droſs* excluſive or incluſive with his three hundred and ſixty tons of copper; which, however, will make a conſiderable difference in the account.

You will here pleaſe to obſerve, that the profit allowed

allowed to Wood by the patent is twelvepence out of every pound of copper, valued at 1*s.* 6*d.* whereas 5*d.* only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the Engliſh *half-pence:* And this difference is almoſt 25 *per cent.* which is double to the higheſt exchange of money, even under all the additional preſſures and obſtructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at preſent. This one circumſtance, in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty pounds between Engliſh and Iriſh *half-pence*, even allowing thoſe of Wood to be all of the heavieſt ſort.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that for every *half-penny* in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, Wood will be a gainer in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, ſixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *comptrollers eaſy* upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that theſe *half-pence far exceed the like coinage for* Ireland *in the reigns of his Majeſty's predeceſſors:* There cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true; which however is altogether miſtaken, not by any fault in the *committee*, but by the fraud and impoſition of Wood, who certainly produced the worſt patterns he could find; ſuch as were coined in ſmall numbers, by *permiſſions to private men*, as *butchers half-pence*, *black-*

dogs, and others the like; or perhaps the ſmall St Patrick's coin, which paſſeth now for a farthing, or at beſt ſome of the ſmalleſt *raps* of the lateſt kind. For I have now by me *half-pence* coined in the year 1680, by virtue of the patent granted to my Lord Dartmouth, which was renewed to Knox, and they are heavier by a ninth part than thoſe of Wood, and of much better metal; and the great St Patrick's *half-pence* are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the preſent debate: If, under the various exigencies of former times, by wars, rebellions, and inſurrections, the kings of England were ſometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixt or baſe money; God forbid that the neceſſities of turbulent times ſhould be a precedent for times of peace, and order, and ſettlement.

In the *patent* above mentioned, granted to Lord Dartmouth in the reign of King Charles the ſecond, and renewed to Knox, the ſecurities given into the Exchequer, obliging the *patentee* to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy againſt all inconveniencies; and the *copper was coined in our kingdom*; ſo that we were in no danger to purchaſe it with the loſs of all our ſilver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to England for the redreſſing any abuſe.

That the kings of England have exerciſed their prerogative of coining copper for Ireland and for England, is not the preſent queſtion: But, to ſpeak

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in the ſtyle of the *report*, it would *ſeem a little extraordinary*, ſuppoſing a king ſhould think fit to exerciſe his *prerogative* by coining copper in Ireland to be current in England, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom to be informed, whether the grant were reaſonable, and whether the people deſired it or no, and without regard to the addreſſes of his parliament againſt it. God forbid, that ſo mean a man as I ſhould meddle with the King's *prerogative*: But I have heard very wiſe men ſay, that the King's *prerogative* is bounded and limited by the *good* and *welfare* of his *people*. I deſire to know, whether it be not underſtood and avowed, that the good of Ireland was intended by his *patent?* But Ireland is not conſulted at all in the matter; and as ſoon as Ireland was informed of it, *they* declared againſt it: The *two Houſes of parliament* and the *Privy-council* addreſs his Majeſty upon the miſchiefs apprehended by ſuch a *patent*; the *Privy-council* in England take the matter out of the *parliament's* cognizance; the good of this kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr Wood ſhall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can ſuppoſe, that ſuch *patents* as theſe were originally granted with a view of being a *job* for the intereſt of a particular perſon, to the damage of the public. Whatever profit muſt ariſe to the *patentee*, was ſurely meant at beſt but as a ſecondary motive; and ſince ſomebody muſt be a gainer, the choice of the perſon was

made either by favour or *ſomething elſe*, or by the pretence of merit and honeſty: This argument returns ſo often and ſtrongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his Majeſty, when he conſented to the paſſing of this *patent*, *conceived* he was doing an act of grace to his moſt loyal ſubjects of Ireland, without any regard to Mr Wood, farther than as an *inſtrument*: But the people of Ireland think this *patent* (intended, no *doubt*, for their good) to be a moſt intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr Wood can never ſucceed, without an open avowal that his profit is preferred, not only before the *intereſt*, but the very *ſafety* and *being* of a great kingdom; and a kingdom diſtinguiſhed for its loyalty, perhaps above all others upon earth; not turned from its duty by the *juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords, aboliſhed at a ſtroke by the hardſhips of the act of navigation newly enforced, by all poſſible obſtructions in trade*, and by a hundred other inſtances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the leaſt attempt towards an inſurrection in favour of the *Pretender*. Therefore, whatever juſtice a *free people* can claim, we have at leaſt an *equal* title to it with our brethren in England; and whatever grace a good prince can beſtow on the moſt *loyal ſubjects*, we have reaſon to expect it; neither has this kingdom any way deſerved to be ſacrificed to one *ſingle, rapacious, obſcure, ignominious* projector.

Among other clauſes mentioned in this *patent* to ſhew how advantageous it is to Ireland, there

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is one which ſeems to be of a *ſingular nature*: That the patentee ſhall be obliged during his term *to pay eight hundred pounds a-year to the crown, and two hundred pounds a-year to the comptroller.* I have heard indeed, that the King's council do always conſider, in the paſſing of a *patent*, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewiſe heard, that it is at the ſame time conſidered, whether paſſing of it may be injurious to any other perſons or bodies politic? However, although the *attorney* and *ſolicitor* be ſervants to the King, and therefore bound to conſult his Majeſty's intereſt; yet I am under ſome doubt, whether eight hundred pounds a-year to the crown would be equivalent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid eight thouſand pounds a-year into his Majeſty's coffers in the midſt of all our taxes (which in proportion are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in England, even during the war) than purchaſe ſuch an addition to the revenue at the price of our *utter undoing*.

But here it is plain, that fourteen thouſand pounds are to be paid by Wood, only as a *ſmall circumſtantial* charge for the purchaſe of his *patent*: What were his other viſible coſts I know not, and what were his *latent*, is variouſly conjectured; but he muſt be ſurely a man of ſome wonderful merit. Hath he ſaved any other kingdom at his own expence, to give him a title of reimburſing himſelf by the *deſtruction* of ours? Hath he diſcovered the *longitude*, or the *univer-*

ſal medicine? No; but he hath found the *philoſopher's ſtone* after a new manner, by *debaſing of copper*, and reſolving to force it upon us for *gold*.

When the two Houſes repreſented to his Majeſty, that this *patent to* Wood *was obtained in a clandeſtine manner*, ſurely the committee could not think the parliament would inſinuate, that it had not paſſed in the common forms, and run through every office where fees and perquiſites were due. They knew very well, that perſons in places were no enemies to grants; and that the officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late * *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland affirmed, it was a ſecret to him; and who will doubt of his veracity, eſpecially when he ſwore to a perſon of quality, from whom I had it, that Ireland ſhould never be troubled with theſe *halfpence*. It was a ſecret to the people of Ireland, who were to be the only ſufferers; and thoſe who beſt knew the ſtate of the kingdom, and were moſt able to adviſe in ſuch an affair, were wholly ſtrangers to it.

It is allowed by the report, that this *patent* was paſſed without the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of Ireland: And it is there elaborately ſhewn, that former *patents* have paſſed in the ſame manner, and are good in law. I ſhall not diſpute the legality of *patents*, but am ready to ſuppoſe it in his Majeſty's power to grant a patent for ſtamping round bits of copper to every ſubject he hath. Therefore, to lay aſide

* Duke of Grafton.

ſide the point of law, I would only put the queſtion, whether in reaſon and juſtice it would not have been proper, in an affair upon which the *welfare of the kingdom depends*, that the ſaid kingdom ſhould have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the patentee and the officers of the crown, who were to be the only gainers by it?

The parliament, who in matters of this nature are the moſt able and faithful counſellors, did repreſent this grant to be deſtructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people: To which the only anſwer is, that the King hath a prerogative to make ſuch a grant.

It is aſſerted, that in the patent to Knox his half-pence are made and declared current coin of the kingdom; whereas, in this to Wood, there is only a power given to iſſue them to ſuch as will receive them. The authors of the report, I think, do not affirm, that the King can, by law, declare any thing to be current money by his letters-patent. I dare ſay they will not affirm it; and if Knox's patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his Majeſty's juſt and merciful reign? But although that clauſe be not in Wood's patent, yet poſſibly there are others, the legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that whereby a power is given to William Wood, to break into houſes in ſearch of any coin made in imitation of his. This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject;

ſubject; yet this is a precedent taken from Knox's patent, where the ſame power is granted; and is a ſtrong inſtance what uſes may be ſometimes made of precedents.

But although, before the paſſing of this patent, it was not thought neceſſary to conſult any perſons of this kingdom, or make the leaſt inquiry whether copper-money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long paſſed, when Wood hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds, and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin ſix times as much more, the committee hath been pleaſed to make this affair the ſubject of inquiry: Wood is permitted to produce his evidences, which conſiſt, as I have already obſerved, of four in number, whereof Coleby, B——, and Mr Finley the banker, are three. And theſe were to prove that copper-money was extremely wanted in Ireland. The firſt had been out of the kingdom almoſt twenty years, from the time that he was tried for robbing the treaſury: and therefore his knowledge and credibility are equal. Mr Finley, one of the other witneſſes, honeſtly confeſſed that he was ignorant whether Ireland wanted copper-money or no; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from Wood at a large diſcount, and ſell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thouſand pounds for himſelf.

But ſuppoſe there were not one ſingle half-

penny

penny of copper-coin in this whole kingdom, (which Mr Wood ſeems to intend, unleſs we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emiſſaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the ſhilling more than they paſs for) it could not be any real evil to us, although it might be ſome inconvenience. We have many ſorts of ſmall ſilver coins, to which they are ſtrangers in England; ſuch as the French threepences, fourpence half-pennies, and eight-pence farthings; the Scotch fivepence and tenpences, beſides their twentypences and three-and-fourpences, by which we are able to make change to a half-penny of almoſt any piece of gold or ſilver; and if we are driven to the expedient of a ſealed card, with the little gold and ſilver ſtill remaining, it will, I ſuppoſe, be ſomewhat better than to have nothing left but Wood's adulterated copper, which he is neither obliged by his patent, nor hitherto able by his eſtate, to make good.

The report farther tells us, it muſt be admitted, that letters-patent under the great-ſeal of Great-Britain, for coining copper-money for Ireland, are legal and obligatory, a juſt and reaſonable exerciſe of his Majeſty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invaſive of any liberty or privilege of his ſubjects of Ireland. Firſt, we deſire to know, why his Majeſty's prerogative might not have been as well aſſerted by paſſing this patent in Ireland, and ſubjecting the ſeveral conditions of the contract to the inſpection of thoſe who are only concerned, as was formerly

formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, ſince the mixt money in Queen Elizabeth's time, during the difficulties of a rebellion; whereas now, upon the greateſt impoſition that can poſſibly be practiſed, we muſt go to England with our complaints, where it hath been for ſome time the faſhion to think and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly uſed.* Again, the report ſays, that ſuch patents are obligatory. After long thinking, I am not able to find out what can poſſibly be meant here by this word *obligatory.* The patent of Wood neither obligeth him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or if it did the latter, it would be ſo far void, becauſe no patent can oblige the ſubject againſt law; unleſs an illegal patent, paſſed in one kingdom, can bind another, and not itſelf.

Laſtly, it is added, that ſuch patents are in no manner derogatory, or invaſive of any liberty or privilege of the King's ſubjects of Ireland. If this propoſition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expreſſed or implied, it muſt follow, that a king of England may at any time coin copper-money for Ireland, and oblige his ſubjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practiſed by the late King James; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuſe from the neceſſity and exigencies of his affairs. If this be in no manner derogatory nor invaſive of any liberties or privileges of the ſubjects of Ireland,

land, it ought to have been expreſſed what our liberties and privileges are, and whether we have any at all; for in ſpecifying the word Ireland, inſtead of ſaying his Majeſty's ſubjects, it would ſeem to inſinuate, that we are not upon the ſame foot with our fellow-ſubjects in England; which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly aſſerted; for I do not underſtand that *Poyning*'s act deprived us of our liberty, but only changed the manner of paſſing laws here (which however was a power moſt indirectly obtained) by leaving the negative to the two Houſes of parliament. But waving all controverſies relating to the legiſlature, no perſon, I believe, was ever yet ſo bold as to affirm, that the people of Ireland have not the ſame title to the benefits of the common law with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and therefore whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by common law, we of Ireland have the ſame; ſo that, in my humble opinion, the word Ireland ſtanding in that propoſition, was, in the mildeſt interpretation, a lapſe of the pen.

The report farther aſſerts, that the precedents are many, wherein caſes of great importance to Ireland, and which immediately affected the intereſts of that kingdom, ſuch as warrants, orders, and directions by the authority of the King and his predeceſſors, have been iſſued under the royal ſign-manual, without any previous reference or advice of his Majeſty's officers of Ireland, which have always had their due force,

and

and have been punctually complied with and obeyed. It may be ſo, and I am heartily ſorry for it; becauſe it may prove an eternal ſource of diſcontent. However, among all theſe precedents, there is not one of a patent for coining money for Ireland.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of precedents. If a job is to be done, and upon ſearching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to juſtify the legality of it, by producing his precedents; without ever conſidering the motives and circumſtances that firſt introduced them; the neceſſity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of miniſters, or the arbitrary diſpoſition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told by perſons eminent in the law, that the worſt actions, which human nature is capable of, may be juſtified by the ſame doctrine. How the firſt precedents began of determining caſes of the higheſt importance to Ireland, and immediately affecting its intereſts, without any previous reference or advice to the King's officers here, may ſoon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the ſubmiſſion of Tyrone in the laſt year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various ſcene of war and peace between the Engliſh pale and the Iriſh natives; and the government of that part of this iſland, which lay in the Engliſh hands, was in many things under the immediate

adminiſtration

adminiſtration of the King: Silver and copper often were coined here among us; and once at leaſt, upon great neceſſity, a mixt or baſe metal was ſent from England. The reign of King James I. was employed in ſettling the kingdom after Tyrone's rebellion; and this nation flouriſhed extremely till the time of the maſſacre 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs, the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in Dublin.

By all that I can diſcover, the copper-coin of Ireland, for three hundred years paſt, conſiſted of ſmall pence and half-pence; which particular men had licence to coin, and were current only within certain towns and diſtricts, according to the perſonal credit of the owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have ſeen many ſorts: Neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for Ireland, till the reign of King Charles the ſecond, which was in the year 1680, to George Legge Lord Dartmouth, and renewed by King James the ſecond, in the firſt year of his reign (1685) to John Knox. Both patents were paſſed in Ireland; and in both the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty ſhillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or ſilver.

The patents, both of Lord Dartmouth and Knox, were referred to the attorney-general here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already ſaid, were paſſed in this kingdom. Knox had only a patent for the remainder of the

term granted to Lord Dartmouth. The patent expired in 1701; and upon a petition by Roger Moor to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither: and upon the report of the attorney and ſolicitor, that it was not for his Majeſty's ſervice, or the intereſt of the nation, to have it renewed, it was rejected by King William. It ſhould therefore ſeem very extraordinary, that a patent for coining copper half-pence, intended and profeſſed for the good of the kingdom, ſhould be paſſed without once conſulting that kingdom, for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the application of a poor, private, obſcure mechanic; and a patent of ſuch a nature, that as ſoon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being paſſed, they cry out unanimouſly againſt it as ruinous and deſtructive. The repreſentatives of the nation in parliament, and the Privy-council, addreſs the King to have it recalled; yet the patentee, ſuch a one as I have deſcribed, ſhall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private intereſt ſhall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. St Paul ſays, *All things are* lawful, *but all things are not* expedient. We are anſwered, that this patent is *lawful:* But is it *expedient?* We read that the high-prieſt ſaid, *It was expedient that one man ſhould die for the people;* and this was a moſt wicked propoſition: but that a whole nation ſhould die for one man, was never heard of before.

But becauſe much weight is laid on the precedents

dents of other patents for coining copper for Ireland, I will ſet this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the report, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at leaſt could be produced of copper coined for Ireland by virtue of patents paſſed in England; and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one precedent ſhewn of a patent paſſed in England for coining copper for Ireland for above an hundred years paſt; and if there were any before, it muſt be in times of confuſion. The only patents I could ever hear of, are thoſe already mentioned to Lord Dartmouth and Knox, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare theſe patents with that granted to Wood. Firſt, the patent to Knox, which was under the ſame conditions as that granted to Lord Dartmouth, was paſſed in Ireland; the government and the attorney, and ſolicitor-general, making report that it would be uſeful to this kingdom.

The patent was paſſed with the advice of the King's council here; the patentee was obliged to receive his coin from thoſe who thought themſelves ſurcharged, and to give gold and ſilver for it. Laſtly, the patentee was to pay only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum* to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; firſt, I find the half-pence were milled, which, as it is of great uſe to prevent counterfeits, (and therefore induſtriouſly avoided by Wood) ſo it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight

and goodneſs of the metal, I have ſeveral halfpence now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than thoſe coined by Wood; and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impreſſion is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to ſome of Wood's, by a fraud natural to ſuch patentees; but not ſo immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for in this circumſtance Mr Wood muſt ſerve for a precedent in future times.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to William Wood. It paſſed upon very falſe ſuggeſtions of his own and of a few confederates: It paſſed in England without the leaſt reference hither; it paſſed unknown to the very Lord Lieutenant, then in England. Wood is empowered to coin one hundred and eight thouſand pounds, and all the officers in the kingdom (civil and military) are commanded in the report to countenance and aſſiſt him. Knox had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged to receive his coin back again at our demand, and to enter into ſecurity for ſo doing. Wood's halfpence are not milled, and therefore more eaſily counterfeited by himſelf, as well as by others. Wood pays a thouſand pounds *per annum* for fourteen years; Knox paid only ſixteen pounds thirteen ſhillings and fourpence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

It was the report that ſet me the example of making a compariſon between thoſe two patents, wherein

wherein the committee was grosly misled by the false representation of William Wood; as it was by another assertion, that seven hundred tons of copper were coined during the twenty-one years of Lord Dartmouth's and Knox's patents. Such a quantity of copper, at the rate of two shillings and eightpence *per* pound, would amount to about an hundred and ninety thousand pounds; which was very near as much as the current cash of the kingdom in those days; yet during that period, Ireland was never known to have too much copper-coin; and for several years there was no coining at all: Besides, I am assured, that upon inquiring into the custom-house books all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight years of the twenty-one (besides one year allowed for the troubles) did not exceed forty-seven tons. And we cannot suppose even that small quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage: So that I believe there was never any comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the design for which it was produced.

The *Psalmist* reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he selleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them.* That we have greatly offended God by the wickedness of our lives, is not to be disputed; but our King we have not offended in word or deed: And although he be God's vicegerent upon earth, he will not punish us for any offences, except those we shall commit

mit againſt his legal authority, his ſacred perſon (which God preſerve) or the laws of the land.

The report is very profuſe in arguments, that Ireland is in great want of copper-money. Who were the witneſſes to prove it, hath been ſhewn already: But, in the name of God, who are to be *judges?* Does not the nation beſt know its own wants? Both Houſes of parliament, the Privy-council, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary: Or, let the wants be what they will, we deſire they may not be ſupplied by Mr Wood: We know our own wants but too well; they are many and grievous to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let England be ſatisfied: As things go, they will in a ſhort time have all our gold and ſilver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home; for we are determined not to purchaſe it with our manufactures, which Wood hath graciouſly offered to accept. Our wants are not ſo bad by a hundredth part as the method he hath taken to ſupply them. He hath already tried his faculty in New-England; and I hope he will meet at leaſt with an equal reception here; what that was, I leave to public intelligence. I am ſuppoſing a wild caſe; that if there ſhould be any perſon already receiving a monſtrous penſion out of this kingdom, who was inſtrumental in procuring the patent, they have either not well conſulted their own intereſts, or Wood muſt put more droſs into his copper, and ſtill diminiſh its weight.

Upon Wood's complaint, that the officers of the

the King's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin; the report ſays, that this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding, and contrary to the powers given in the patent. The committee ſay, they cannot adviſe his Majeſty to give directions to the officers of the revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the ſaid coin, as hath been deſired in the addreſſes of both Houſes; but, on the contrary, they think it both juſt and reaſonable, that the King ſhould immediately give orders to the commiſſioners of the revenue, &c. to revoke all orders, &c. that may have been given by them to hinder or obſtruct the receiving the ſaid coin. And accordingly, we are told, ſuch orders are arrived. Now this was a caſt of Wood's politics; for this information was wholly falſe and groundleſs, which he knew very well: and that the commiſſioners of the revenue here were all, except one, ſent us from England, and love their employments too well to have taken ſuch a ſtep: But Wood was wiſe enough to conſider, that ſuch orders of revocation would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noiſe, and poſſibly create ſome terror in the poor people of Ireland. And one great point he hath gained, that although any orders of revocation will be needleſs, yet a new order is to be ſent (and perhaps is already here) to the commiſſioners of the revenue, and all the King's officers in Ireland, that

Wood's

Wood's half-pence be ſuffered and permitted, without any let, ſuit, trouble, moleſtation, or denial of any of the King's officers or miniſters whatſoever, to paſs, and be received as current money by ſuch as ſhall be willing to receive them. In this order there is no exception: and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all officers both civil and military, from the Lord High Chancellor to a juſtice of peace, and from the general to an enſign; ſo that Wood's project is not likely to fail for want of managers enough. For my own part, as things ſtand, I have but little regret to find myſelf out of the number; and therefore I ſhall continue in all humility to exhort and warn my fellow-ſubjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much quicker and larger ſteps than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needleſs to argue any longer. The matter is come to an iſſue. His Majeſty, purſuant to the law, hath left the field open between Wood and the kingdom of Ireland. Wood hath liberty to offer his coin, and we have law, reaſon, liberty, and neceſſity to refuſe it. A knaviſh jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words voluntary, and willing to receive it, will be underſtood and applied in their true natural meaning, as commonly underſtood by Proteſtants. For if a fierce captain comes to my ſhop to buy ſix yards of ſcarlet-cloth, followed by a porter laden with a ſack of Wood's coin upon

on his ſhoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my ſcarlet lies ready cut upon the counter; if he then gives me the word of command to receive my money in Wood's coin, and calls me a diſaffected, Jacobite dog, for refuſing it, (although I am as loyal a ſubject as himſelf, and without hire) and thereupon ſeizes my cloth, leaving me the price in his odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: in this caſe I ſhall hardly be brought to think, that I am left to my own will. I ſhall therefore on ſuch occaſions firſt order the porter aforeſaid to go off with his pack; and then ſee the money in ſiver and gold in my poſſeſſion, before I cut or meaſure my cloth. But if a common ſoldier drinks his pot firſt, and then offers payment in Wood's half-pence, the landlady may be under ſome difficulty: for if ſhe complains to his captain or enſign, they are likewiſe officers included in this general order for encouraging theſe half-pence to paſs as current money. If ſhe goes to a juſtice of peace, he is alſo an officer, to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore adviſe her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before ſhe parts with them. However, I ſhould have been content, for ſome reaſons, that the military gentlemen had been excepted by name; becauſe I have heard it ſaid, that their diſcipline is beſt confined within their own diſtrict.

His Majeſty, in the concluſion of his anſwer to the addreſs of the Houſe of Lords againſt

Wood'

Wood's coin, is pleaſed to ſay, that he will do every thing in his power to the ſatisfaction of his people. It ſhould ſeem therefore, that the recalling the patent is not to be underſtood as a thing in his power. But however, ſince the law doth not oblige us to receive this coin, and conſequently the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preſerve us from ruin, but that the whole kingdom ſhould continue in a firm, determinate reſolution never to receive or utter this fatal coin. After which let the officers, to whom theſe orders are directed (I would willingly except the military) come with their exhortations, their arguments, and their eloquence, to perſuade us to find our intereſt in our undoing. Let Wood and his accomplices travel about the country with cart-loads of their ware, and ſee who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed; for a highwayman would ſcorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the commiſſioners of the revenue will proceed in this juncture; becauſe I am told they are obliged by act of parliament to take nothing but gold and ſilver in payment for his Majeſty's cuſtoms: and I think they cannot juſtly offer this coinage of Mr Wood to others, unleſs they will be content to receive it themſelves.

The ſum of the whole is this: The committee adviſes the King to ſend immediate orders to all his officers here, that Wood's coin be ſuffered and permitted, without any let, ſuit, trouble, &c.

to

to paſs, and to be received as current money by ſuch as ſhall be willing to receive the ſame. It is probable, that the firſt willing receivers may be thoſe who muſt receive it whether they will or no, at leaſt under the penalty of loſing an office. But the landed undepending men, the merchants, the ſhop-keepers, and bulk of the people, I hope, and am almoſt confident, will never receive it. What muſt the conſequence be? the owners will ſell it for as much as they can get. Wood's half-pence will come to be offered for ſix a penny (yet then he will be a ſufficient gainer) and the neceſſary receivers will be loſers of two-thirds in their ſalaries or pay.

This puts me in mind of a paſſage I was told many years ago in England. At a quarter-ſeſſion at Leiceſter, the juſtices had wiſely decreed to take off a half-penny in a quart from the price of ale. One of them who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had paſſed, ſaid thus: Gentlemen, you have made an order, that ale ſhould be ſold in our county for three half-pence a quart; I deſire you will now make another to appoint who muſt drink it: for by G—— I will not.

I muſt beg leave to caution your Lordſhips and Worſhips in one particular. Wood hath graciouſly promiſed to load us at preſent only with forty thouſand pounds of his coin, until the exigencies of the kingdom require the reſt. I intreat you will never ſuffer Mr Wood to be a judge of your exigencies. While there is one piece of

ſilver

ſilver or gold left in the kingdom, he will call it an exigency. He will double his preſent quantum by ſtealth as ſoon as he can: he will pour his own raps and counterfeits upon us: France and Holland will do the ſame; nor will our own coiners at home be behind them. To confirm which, I have now in my pocket a rap, or counterfeit half-penny, in imitation of his; but ſo ill performed, that in my conſcience I believe it is not of his coining.

I muſt now deſire your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*, that you will give great allowance for this long undigeſted paper. I find myſelf to have gone into ſeveral repetitions, which were the effects of haſte, while new thoughts fell in to add ſomething to what I had ſaid before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully anſwered every paragraph in the *report*; which, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the ſpirit of a pleader, who can find the moſt plauſible topics in behalf of his client, yet there was no great ſkill required to detect the many miſtakes contained in it; which however are by no means to be charged upon the Right Honourable Committee, but upon the moſt falſe, impudent, and fraudulent repreſentations of Wood and his accomplices. I deſire one particular may dwell upon your minds, although I have mentioned it more than once; that after all the weight laid upon *precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole *report*, of a patent for coining copper in England to paſs in Ireland; and only two patents referred to, (for indeed

indeed there were no more) which were both paſſed in Ireland, by references to the King's council here, both leſs advantageous to the coiner than this of Wood; and in both, ſecurities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and ſilver in lieu of it. This demonſtrates the moſt flagrant falſehood and impudence of Wood, by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable Committee his inſtruments (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain) to ruin a kingdom, which has deſerved quite different treatment.

I am very ſenſible, that ſuch a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a houſe is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakeſt in the family runs firſt to ſtop the door. All the aſſiſtance I had, were ſome informations from an eminent perſon; whereof I am afraid I have ſpoiled a few by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the reſt I was not able to manage: I was in the caſe of David, who could not move in the armour of Saul: and therefore I rather choſe to attack this uncircumciſed Philiſtine (Wood I mean) with a ſling and a ſtone. And I may ſay for Wood's honour, as well as my own, that he reſembles Goliah in many circumſtances very applicable to the preſent purpoſe: For Goliah had a helmit of braſs upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thouſand ſhekels of braſs, and he had greaves of braſs upon his legs, and a target of braſs between his ſhoulders. In ſhort, he was like Mr

Wood, all over braſs, and he defied the armies of the living God. Goliah's conditions of combat were likewiſe the ſame with thoſe of Wood: If he prevail againſt us, then ſhall we be his ſervants. But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he ſhall never be a ſervant of mine; for I do not think him fit to be truſted in any honeſt man's ſhop.

I will conclude with my humble deſire and requeſt, which I made in my ſecond letter, that your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips* would pleaſe to order a declaration to be drawn up, expreſſing in the ſtrongeſt terms your reſolutions never to receive or utter any of Wood's half-pence, or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them; that the ſaid declaration may be ſigned by as many perſons as * poſſible, who have eſtates in this kingdom, and be ſent down to your ſeveral tenants aforeſaid.

And if the dread of Wood's half-pence ſhould continue until next quarter-ſeſſions, which I hope it will not, the gentlemen of every county will then have a fair opportunity of declaring againſt them with unanimity and zeal.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
(may it pleaſe your Lordſhips and worſhips,)
your moſt dutiful and
obedient ſervant,

Aug. 25. 1724. M. B.

LET-

* A declaration purſuant to this requeſt was ſigned ſoon after by the moſt conſiderable perſons in this kingdom, which was univerſally ſpread, and of great uſe.

LETTER IV.

To the whole PEOPLE of IRELAND.

My dear countrymen,

HAVING already written three Letters upon ſo diſagreeable a ſubject as Mr Wood and his *half-pence*, I conceived my taſk was at an end; but I find that cordials muſt be frequently applied to weak conſtitutions, *political* as well as *natural*. A people long uſed to hardſhips, loſe by degrees the very notions of *liberty*: they look upon themſelves as creatures at mercy, and that all impoſitions laid on them by a ſtronger hand are, in the phraſe of the report, legal and obligatory. Hence proceed that poverty and lowneſs of ſpirit, to which a kingdom may be ſubject, as well as a particular perſon. And when Eſau came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he ſold his birthright for a meſs of pottage.

I thought I had ſufficiently ſhewn to all who could want inſtruction, by what methods they might ſafely proceed, whenever this coin ſhould be offered to them; and I believe, there hath not been for many ages an example of any kingdom ſo firmly united in a point of ſo great importance,

as this of ours is at preſent againſt that deteſtable fraud. But however, it ſo happens, that ſome weak people begin to be alarmed anew by rumours induſtriouſly ſpread. Wood preſcribes to the news-mongers in London what they are to write. In one of their papers, publiſhed here by ſome obſcure printer (and certainly with a bad deſign) we are told, that the Papiſts in Ireland have entered into an aſſociation againſt his coin; although it be notoriouſly known, that they never once offered to ſtir in the matter; ſo that the two Houſes of parliament, the Privy-council, the great numbers of corporations, the Lord-mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, the Grand juries, and principal gentlemen of ſeveral counties, are ſtigmatized in a lump under the name of *Papiſts*.

This impoſtor and his crew do likewiſe give out, that by refuſing to receive his droſs for ſterling, we *diſpute the King's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to ſhake off the dependency of* Ireland *upon the crown of* England. To countenance which reports, he hath publiſhed a paragraph in another news-paper, to let us know, that *the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to ſettle his half-pence.*

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the leaſt concern upon theſe, and the like rumours, which are no more than the laſt howls of a dog diſſected alive, as I hope he hath ſufficiently been. Theſe calumnies are the only reſerve that is left him. For ſurely our continued

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and (almoſt) unexampled loyalty will never be called in queſtion for not ſuffering ourſelves to be robbed of all that we have by one obſcure *iron-monger*.

As to diſputing the King's *prerogative*, give me leave to explain to thoſe who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word, *prerogative*, is.

The kings of theſe realms enjoy ſeveral powers, wherein the laws have not interpoſed: ſo they can make war and peace without the conſent of parliament; and this is a very great *prerogative*: but if the parliament do not approve of the war, the King muſt bear the charge of it out of his own purſe; and this is as great a check on the crown. So the King hath a *prerogative* to coin money without conſent of parliament; but he cannot compel the ſubject to take that money, except it be ſterling gold or ſilver; becauſe herein he is limited by law. Some princes have indeed extended their *prerogative* farther than the law allowed them: wherein however the lawyers of ſucceeding ages, as fond as they are of *precedents*, have never dared to juſtify them. But to ſay the truth, it is only of late times that *prerogative* hath been fixed and aſcertained. For whoever reads the hiſtory of England will find, that ſome former kings, and thoſe none of the worſt, have upon ſeveral occaſions ventured to controul the laws, with very little ceremony or ſcruple, even later than the days of Queen Eliſabeth. In her reign, that pernicious counſel of ſending *baſe money* hither very narrowly failed of loſing the

kingdom; being complained of by the Lord-deputy, the Council, and the whole body of the Engliſh here: So that, ſoon after her death, it was recalled by her ſucceſſor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you ſome notion of what is meant by the King's *prerogative*, as far as a *tradeſman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great Lord Bacon, That, 'as GOD governs the world by the 'ſettled laws of nature, which he hath made, and 'never tranſcends thoſe laws but upon high, im-'portant occaſions: So, among earthly princes, 'thoſe are the wiſeſt and the beſt, who govern 'by the known laws of the country, and ſeldom-'eſt make uſe of their *prerogative*.'

Now here you may ſee, that the vile accuſation of Wood and his *accomplices*, charging us with *diſputing the King's prerogative* by refuſing his braſs, can have no place; becauſe compelling the ſubject to take any coin, which is not ſterling, is no part of the King's *prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were ſo, we ſhould be the laſt of his people to diſpute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to his Majeſty, as from the treatment we might in ſuch a caſe juſtly expect *from ſome* who ſeem to think, we have neither *common ſenſe*, *nor common ſenſes*. But, God be thanked, the beſt of them are only our *fellow-ſubjects*, and not our *maſters*. One great merit I am ſure we have, which thoſe of Engliſh birth can have no pretence to, that

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our anceſtors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a *worſe climate*, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not conſent, a ruined trade, a Houſe of *Peers* without *juriſdiction*, almoſt an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's half-pence.

But we are ſo far from diſputing the King's *prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath power to give a patent to any man for ſetting his royal image and ſuperſcription upon whatever materials he pleaſes; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country, from England to Japan, only attended with one ſmall limitation, that *no-body alive is obliged to take them.*

Upon theſe conſiderations I was ever againſt all recourſe to England for a remedy againſt the preſent impending evil; eſpecially when I obſerved, that the addreſſes of both Houſes, after long expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in favour of Wood: Upon which I made ſome obſervations in a former letter, and might at leaſt have made as many more; for it is a paper of as ſingular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I miſtake; for before this *report* was made, his Majeſty's *moſt gracious anſwer* to the Houſe of Lords was ſent over, and printed; wherein are theſe words, *granting the patent for coining half-pence and farthings*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, *&c.* That King Charles II. and King James II. (AND

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THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpoſe, is indiſputable, and I have ſhewn it at large. Their patents were paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, by references to Ireland, the copper to be coined in Ireland; the patentee was bound on demand to receive his coin back in Ireland, and pay ſilver and gold in return. Wood's patent was made under the great ſeal of England, the braſs coined in England, not the leaſt reference made to Ireland; the ſum immenſe, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, and give good money for it. This I only mention, becauſe in my private thoughts I have ſometimes made a query, whether the *penner* of thoſe words in his Majeſty's *moſt gracious anſwer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely conſidered the ſeveral circumſtances, which, in my poor opinion, ſeem to make a difference *.

Let me now ſay ſomething concerning the other great cauſe of ſome people's fear, as Wood has taught the London news-writers to expreſs it, that *his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to ſettle* Wood's *half-pence*.

We know very well, that the Lords Lieutenants for ſeveral years paſt have not thought this kingdom *worthy the honour of their reſidence*, longer than was abſolutely neceſſary for the King's buſineſs; which conſequently *wanted no ſpeed in the diſpatch*. And therefore it naturally fell into moſt mens thoughts that a new governor, coming at an *unuſual* time, muſt portend ſome

* See the note at the end of this letter.

ſome *unuſual* buſineſs to be done; eſpecially if the common report be true, that the parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is, by a new ſummons revoking that prorogation, to aſſemble ſoon after his arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on t'other ſide the water have by great good fortune found two *precedents*.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that ſo *little a creature as* Wood could find credit enough with the King and his miniſters to have the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ſent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

For, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the refinements of ſome people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great ſeal of England, upon falſe ſuggeſtions, to one William Wood, for coining copper *half-pence* for Ireland: The parliament here, upon apprehenſions of the worſt conſequences from the ſaid patent, addreſs the King to have it recalled: This is refuſed, and a committee of the Privy-council *report* to his Majeſty, that Wood has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the beſt he can with his *half-pence*, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here being likewiſe left to themſelves, unite as one man, reſolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact it is manifeſt, that the King and his miniſtry are wholly out of the caſe, and the matter is left to be diſputed between him and

and us. Will any man therefore attempt to perſuade me, that a Lord Lieutenant is to be diſpatched over in great haſte before the ordinary time, and a parliament ſummoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put an hundred thouſand pounds into the pocket of a *ſharper* by the ruin of a moſt loyal kingdom.

But ſuppoſing all this to be true; by what argument could a Lord Lieutenant prevail on the ſame parliament, which addreſſed with ſo much zeal and earneſtneſs againſt this evil, to paſs it into a law? I am ſure their opinion of Wood and his project are not mended ſince their laſt prorogation; and ſuppoſing thoſe *methods* ſhould be uſed, which *detractors* tell us have been ſometimes put in practice for *gaining votes*, it is well known, that in this kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is *as well known* to whoſe ſhare they muſt fall.

But, becauſe great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you ſome reaſons why there are ſo few employments to be diſpoſed of in this kingdom. All conſiderable offices for life here are poſſeſſed by thoſe, to whom the reverſions were granted; and theſe have been generally followers of the chief governors, or perſons who had intereſt in the court of England; ſo the Lord Berkley of Stratton holds that great office of *Maſter of the Rolls*; the Lord Palmerſtown is *Firſt Remembrancer*, worth near 2000*l. per annum*. One Dodington, ſecretary to the Earl of Pembroke, begged the reverſion

reverſion of *Clerk of the Pells*, worth 2500*l* a-year, which he now enjoys by the death of the Lord Newtown. Mr Southwell is Secretary of State, and the Earl of Burlington Lord High Treaſurer of Ireland by inheritance. Theſe are only a few, among many others, which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reverſions of ſeveral employments during pleaſure is granted the ſame way. This, among many others, is a circumſtance, whereby the kingdom of Ireland is diſtinguiſhed from all other nations upon earth, and makes it ſo difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr Addiſon was forced to purchaſe an old obſcure place, called *keeper af the records in* Bermingham's *tower*, of ten pounds a-year, and to get a ſalary of 400*l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown, either for curioſity or uſe. And we lately ſaw * a *favourite ſecretary* deſcend to be *Maſter of the Revels*, which by his *credit and extortion* he hath made *pretty conſiderable*. I ſay nothing of the under-treaſurerſhip, worth about 9000*l.* a-year, nor of the commiſſioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in England; for I think none of theſe are granted in reverſion. But the jeſt is, that I have known upon occaſion ſome of theſe abſent officers as *keen* againſt the intereſt of Ireland, as if they had never been indebted to her for a *ſingle groat*.

I confeſs I have been ſometimes tempted to wiſh, that this project of Wood might ſucceed; becauſe

* Mr Hopkins, ſecretary to the Duke of Grafton.

becauſe I reflected with ſome pleaſure, what a *jolly crew* it would bring over among us of *lords* and *'ſquires*, and *penſioners* of *both ſexes*, and officers *civil* and *military*, where we ſhould live together as merry and ſociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we ſhould neither have *meat* to feed, nor *manufactures* to cloth us, unleſs we could be content to *prance* about in *coats of mail*, or eat *braſs*, as oſtriches do *iron*.

I return from this digreſſion to that which gave me the occaſion of making it; and I believe you are now convinced, that if the parliament of Ireland were as *temptable* as any *other* aſſembly within a mile of Chriſtendom, (which God forbid); yet the *managers* muſt of neceſſity fail for want of *tools* to work with. But I will yet go one ſtep further, by ſuppoſing, that a hundred new employments were erected on purpoſe to gratify *compliers*: Yet ſtill an inſuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of *town* nor *country party*; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuſe to live upon his *own eſtate*, which brings him *gold* and *ſilver*, than with the addition of an *employment*, when his *rents* and *ſalary* muſt both be paid in Wood's braſs, at above eighty *per cent.* diſcount.

For theſe, and many other reaſons, I am confident you need not be under the leaſt apprehenſions from the ſudden expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant* *, while we continue in our preſent hearty

* Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

hearty diſpoſition, to alter which no ſuitable temptation can poſſibly be offered. And if, as I have often aſſerted from the beſt authority, the *law* hath not left a *power* in the *crown* to force any money, except ſterling, upon the ſubject; much leſs can the crown *devolve* ſuch a *power* upon *another*.

This I ſpeak with the utmoſt reſpect to the *perſon* and *dignity* of his Excellency the Lord Carteret, whoſe character was lately given me by a gentleman, that hath known him from his firſt appearance in the world: That gentleman deſcribes him as a young man of great accompliſhments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of much ſpirit and vivacity. He hath ſince, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal ſecretary of ſtate; and is now, about the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. From ſuch a governor this kingdom may reaſonably hope for as much proſperity as, *under ſo many diſcouragements*, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man there have been governors of ſo much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible conſequence to this kingdom, by their power with *thoſe who are in office*; and by their arts in managing or deluding others with *oaths*, *affability*, and even with *dinners*. If Wood's braſs had in thoſe times been upon the *anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken. *Depending* perſons would have been told in plain

terms, 'That it was a ſervice expected from them 'under the pain of the public buſineſs being put 'into more complying hands.' Others would be allured by *promiſes*. To the *country gentleman*, beſides *good words*, *Burgundy*, and *cloſetting*, it might perhaps have been hinted, how 'kindly 'it would be taken to comply with a royal pa-'tent, although it were not compulſory:' That if any inconveniencies enſued, it might be made up with other *graces or favours hereafter:* That 'gentlemen ought to conſider, whether it were 'prudent or ſafe to diſguſt England:' They would be deſired to 'think of ſome good bills 'for encouraging of trade, and ſetting the poor 'to work; ſome further acts againſt Popery, 'and for uniting Proteſtants.' There would be ſolemn engagements, that we ſhould 'never be 'troubled with above forty thouſand pounds in 'his coin, and all of the beſt and weightieſt ſort, 'for which we ſhould only give our manufac-'tures in exchange, and keep our gold and ſilver 'at home.' Perhaps 'a ſeaſonable report of 'ſome invaſion would have been ſpread in the 'moſt proper juncture;' which is a great ſmooth-er of rubs in public proceedings: And we ſhould have been told, that 'this was no time to create 'differences, when the kingdom was in danger.'

Theſe, I ſay, and the like methods, would in corrupt times have been taken to let in this de-luge of *braſs* among us. And, I am confident, even then would not have ſucceeded; much leſs under the adminiſtration of ſo excellent a perſon

as

as the Lord CARTERET: and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced to a man, that the utter undoing of themſelves and their poſterity for ever, will be dated from the admiſſion of that execrable coin; that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a ſmall or moderate quantity, than a *plague* can be confined to a few families; and that no *equivalent* can be given by any earthly power, any more than a dead carcaſe can be recovered to life by a cordial.

There is one comfortable circumſtance in this univerſal oppoſition to Mr Wood, that the people ſent over hither from England to *fill up our vacancies, eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military*, are all on our ſide. *Money*, the great *divider* of the world, hath by a ſtrange revolution been the great *uniter* of a moſt *divided* people. Who would leave a hundred pounds a-year in England *(a country of freedom)* to be paid a thouſand in Ireland out of Wood's exchequer? The *gentleman* they have lately made *primate* *, would never quit his ſeat in an Engliſh Houſe of Lords, and his preferments at Oxford and Briſtol, worth twelve hundred pounds a-year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an Iriſhman, at leaſt upon *this one article*, as any of his brethren, or even of *us*, who have had the *misfortune* to be born in this iſland. For thoſe who, in the common phraſe, do not *come hither*

* Dr Hugh Boulter.

to learn the language, would never change a better country for a worſe, to receive *braſs* inſtead of *gold*.

Another ſlander ſpread by Wood and his emiſſaries is, that by oppoſing him we diſcover an inclination to *ſhake off our dependence upon the crown of* England. Pray obſerve how important a perſon is this ſame William Wood; and how the public-weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private intereſt. Firſt, all thoſe who refuſe to take his coin are *Papiſts:* for he tells us, that *none but* Papiſts *are aſſociated againſt him*. Secondly, they *diſpute the King's prerogative*. Thirdly, they *are ripe for rebellion*. And, fourthly, they are going to *ſhake off their dependence upon the crown of* England; that is to ſay, *they are going to chuſe another king;* for there can be no other meaning in this expreſſion, however ſome may pretend to ſtrain it.

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to thoſe who are ignorant, another point, which hath often *ſwelled in my breaſt*. Thoſe who come over hither to us from England, and ſome *weak* people among ourſelves, whenever in diſcourſe we make mention of *liberty* and *property*, ſhake their heads, and tell us that * Ireland is a *depending kingdom;* as if they would ſeem by this phraſe to intend, that the people of Ireland are in ſome ſtate of ſlavery or dependence different from thoſe of England; whereas a *depending kingdom* is a *modern term of art*, unknown, as

* See the note at the end of this letter.

I have heard, to all ancient *civilians*, and *writers upon government*; and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in ſome ſtatutes an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a ſtyle as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this expreſſion, a *depending kingdom*, there is no more to be underſtood, than that, by a ſtatute made here in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. 'the King, and his ſucceſſors, are 'to be kings imperial of this realm, as united 'and knit to the imperial crown of England.' I have looked over all the Engliſh and Iriſh ſtatutes, without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England doth upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourſelves to have *the ſame king with them*; and conſequently they are obliged to have the *ſame king with us*. For the law was made by *our own parliament*; and our anceſtors then were not ſuch *fools (whatever they were in the preceding reign)* to bring themſelves under I know not what *dependence*, which is now talked of, without any ground of *law*, *reaſon*, or *common ſenſe*.

Let whoever think otherwiſe, I, M. B. *drapier*, deſire to be excepted: For I declare, next under GOD, I *depend* only on the King my ſovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am ſo far from *depending* upon the people of England, that, if they ſhould ever *rebel* againſt my ſovereign, (which GOD forbid), I would be ready at the firſt command from his Majeſty to take arms againſt them, as ſome of *my* country-

men did againſt *theirs* at Preſton. And if ſuch a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to fix the *Pretender* on the throne of England, I would venture to tranſgreſs that *ſtatute* ſo far, as to loſe every drop of my blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland *.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man the parliaments of England have *ſometimes* aſſumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; wherein they were at firſt openly oppoſed (as far as *truth*, *reaſon*, and *juſtice* are capable of *oppoſing*) by the famous Mr Molineux, an Engliſh gentleman born here, as well as by ſeveral of the greateſt patriots and *beſt Whigs* in England; but the *love* and *torrent* of power prevailed. Indeed, the arguments on both ſides were invincible. For in *reaſon*, all *government*, without the conſent of the *governed*, is the very *definition of ſlavery*: But in fact, 'eleven men well armed will certainly ſubdue one 'ſingle man in his ſhirt.' But I have done: For thoſe who have uſed *power* to cramp *liberty*, have gone ſo far as to reſent even the *liberty* of *complaining*; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refuſed the liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to *ſink* too much under *unreaſonable* fears, ſo we are too ſoon inclined to be *raiſed* by groundleſs hopes, according to the nature of all *conſumptive* bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for ſeveral days paſt, that *ſomebody*

* This paragraph gave great offence. See letter V.

ſomebody in England empowered a ſecond *ſomebody* to write to a third *ſomebody* here to aſſure us, that we *ſhould no more be troubled with thoſe half-pence.* And this is reported to have been done by the * *ſame perſon*, who is ſaid to have ſworn ſome months ago, that he would *ram them down their throats*, (though I doubt they would *ſtick in our ſtomachs*): But which-ever of theſe reports be true or falſe, it is no concern of ours. For *in this point* we have nothing to do with Engliſh *miniſters*: and I ſhould be ſorry to leave it in their power to redreſs this grievance, or to enforce it; for the *report of the committee* hath given me a *ſurfeit*. The remedy is wholly in your own hands; and therefore I have digreſſed a little, in order to refreſh and continue that *ſpirit* ſo ſeaſonably raiſed amongſt you; and to let you ſee, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be, as FREE a people as your brethren in England.

If the pamphlets publiſhed at London by Wood and his *journeymen* in defence of his cauſe, were reprinted here, and that our countrymen could be perſuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked deſign, more than all I ſhall ever be able to ſay. In ſhort, I make him a perfect *ſaint* in compariſon of what he appears to be from the writings of thoſe whom he *hires* to juſtify his *project*. But he is ſo far *maſter of the field*, (*let others gueſs the reaſon*) that no London

* Mr Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

don printer dare publiſh any paper written in favour of Ireland: and here no-body hath yet been ſo *bold* as to publiſh any thing in *favour* of him.

There was, a few days ago, a pamphlet ſent me of near fifty pages, written in favour of Mr Wood and his coinage, printed in London: It is not worth anſwering, becauſe probably it will never be publiſhed here. But it gave me occaſion to reflect upon an unhappineſs we lie under, that the people of England are utterly ignorant of our caſe; which however is no wonder, ſince it is a point they do not in the leaſt concern themſelves about, farther than perhaps as a ſubject of diſcourſe in a coffee-houſe, when they have nothing elſe to talk of. For I have reaſon to believe, that no *miniſter* ever gave himſelf the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence, becauſe I ſuppoſe their *opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the reports of Wood and his accomplices; elſe it would be impoſſible, that any man could have the impudence to write ſuch a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our *neighbours*, *whoſe underſtandings are juſt upon a level with ours* (which perhaps are none of the *brighteſt*) have a ſtrong contempt for moſt nations, but eſpecially for Ireland. They look upon us as a ſort of *ſavage* Iriſh, whom our anceſtors conquered ſeveral hundred years ago. And if I ſhould deſcribe the Britons to you as they were in Cæſar's time, when they *painted their bodies*,

dies, or clothed themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts, I ſhould act full as reaſonably as they do. However, they are ſo far to be excuſed in relation to the preſent ſubject, that hearing only *one ſide of the cauſe*, and having neither opportunity nor curioſity to examine the *other*, they *believe a lie* merely for their eaſe; and conclude, becauſe Mr Wood pretends to have *power*, he hath alſo *reaſon* on his ſide.

Therefore, to let you ſee how this caſe is repreſented in England by Wood and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of thoſe notorious falſehoods, in point of *fact* and *reaſoning*, contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their *own* right ſentiments, when they will ſee, by comparing both, how much their *enemies* are in the *wrong*.

Firſt, the writer poſitively aſſerts, 'that Wood's 'half-pence were current among us for ſeveral 'months, with the univerſal approbation of all 'people, without one ſingle gainſayer; and we 'all, to a man, thought ourſelves happy in ha-'ving them.'

Secondly, he affirms, 'that we were drawn 'into a diſlike of them only by ſome cunning, 'evil-deſigning men among us, who oppoſed 'this patent of Wood to get another for them-'ſelves.'

Thirdly, that 'thoſe, who moſt declared at firſt 'againſt Wood's patent, were the very men who 'intend to get another for their own advantage.'

Fourthly,

Fourthly, that 'our parliament and privy-coun-
'cil, the Lord-mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the
'grand juries and merchants, and in ſhort the
'whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs (as he ex-
'preſſeth it) were fond of thoſe half-pence, till
'they were inflamed by thoſe few deſigning per-
'ſons aforeſaid'

Fifthly, he ſays directly, that 'all thoſe who op-
'poſed the half-pence, were Papiſts, and enemies
'to King George.'

Thus far, I am confident, the moſt ignorant among you can ſafely ſwear from your own knowledge, that the author is a moſt notorious liar in every article; the direct contrary being ſo manifeſt to the whole kingdom, that, if occaſion required, we might get it confirmed under *five hundred thouſand hands*.

Sixthly, he would perſuade us, that 'if we
'ſell five ſhillings worth of our goods or manu-
'factures for two ſhillings and four-pence worth
'of copper, although the copper were melted
'down, and that we could get five ſhillings in
'gold and ſilver for the ſaid goods; yet to take
'the ſaid two ſhillings and four-pence in copper
'would be greatly for our advantage.'

And, laſtly, he makes us a very fair offer, as empowered by Wood, that 'if we will take off
'two hundred thouſand pounds in his half-pence
'for our goods, and likewiſe pay him three *per*
'*cent.* intereſt for thirty years for an hundred
'and twenty thouſand pounds' (at which he computes the coinage above the intrinſic value of the copper)

copper) 'for the loan of his coin, he will after 'that time give us good money for what half-'pence will be then left.'

Let me place this offer in as clear a light as I can, to ſhew the inſupportable villainy and impudence of that incorrigible wretch. Firſt (ſays he) 'I will ſend two hundred thouſand pounds of 'my coin into your country: The copper I com-'pute to be, in real value, eighty thouſand 'pounds, and I charge you with an hundred and 'twenty thouſand pounds for the coinage; ſo 'that you ſee I lend you an hundred and twenty 'thouſand pounds for thirty years; for which you 'ſhall pay me three *per cent.* that is to ſay, three 'thouſand ſix hundred pounds *per annum*, which 'in thirty years will amount to an hundred and 'eight thouſand ponnds. And when theſe thirty 'years are expired, return me my copper, and I 'will give you good money for it.'

This is the propoſal made to us by Wood in that pamphlet written by one of his *commiſſioners*; and the author is ſuppoſed to be the ſame infamous Coleby, one of his *under-ſwearers* at the *committee of council*, who was tried for *robbing the treaſury here*, where he was an under-clerk.

By this propoſal he will firſt receive two hundred thouſand pounds, in goods or ſterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thouſand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thouſand pounds. Secondly, he will receive for intereſt an hundred and eight thouſand pounds: and when our children come thirty years hence to re-

turn

turn his *half-pence* upon his executors, (for before that time he will be probably gone to *his own place*), theſe executors will very reaſonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

Methinks I am fond of ſuch a *dealer* as this, who mends every day upon our hands like a Dutch reckoning, wherein if you diſpute the unreaſonableneſs and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord ſhall bring it up every time with new additions.

Although theſe and the like pamphlets, publiſhed by Wood in London, are altogether unknown here, where no-body could read them without as much *indignation* as *contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a ſpecimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any creature to contradict him; while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our ſilence: And the Engliſh in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refuſal to *wilfulneſs* or *diſaffection*, juſt as Wood and his *hirelings* are pleaſed to repreſent.

But although our arguments are not ſuffered to be printed in England, yet the conſequence will be of little moment. Let Wood endeavour to perſuade the people there, that we ought to *receive* his coin; and let me convince our people here, that they ought to *reject* it, under pain of our utter undoing; and then let him do his *beſt* and his *worſt*.

Before I conclude, I muſt beg leave, in all humility, to tell Mr Wood, that he is guilty of great

indiſcretion,

indiſcretion, by cauſing ſo honourable a name as that of Mr Walpole to be mentioned ſo often, and in ſuch a manner, upon this occaſion. A ſhort paper, printed at Briſtol, and reprinted here, reports Mr Wood to ſay, that he *wonders at the impudence and inſolence of the* Iriſh *in refuſing his coin, and what he will do when* Mr Walpole *comes to town*. Where, by the way, he is miſtaken; for it is the *true* Engliſh *people* of Ireland who refuſe it, although we take it for granted, that the Iriſh will do ſo too whenever they are aſked. In another printed paper of his contriving it is roundly expreſſed, that Mr Walpole will *cram his braſs down our throats*. Sometimes it is given out, that we muſt *either take thoſe half-pence* or *eat our brogues:* And in another news-letter, but of yeſterday, we read, that the ſame great man *hath ſworn to make us ſwallow his coin in fire-balls*.

This brings to my mind the known ſtory of a Scotchman, who receiving the ſentence of death with all the circumſtances of *hanging*, *beheading*, *quartering*, *emboweling*, and the like, cried out, *What need all this* COOKERY? And I think we have reaſon to aſk the ſame queſtion; for, if we believe Wood, here is a *dinner* getting ready for us; and you ſee the *bill of fare;* and I am ſorry the *drink* was forgot, which might eaſily be ſupplied with *melted lead* and *flaming pitch*.

What vile words are theſe to put into the mouth of a great counſellor, in high truſt with his Majeſty, and looked upon as a prime miniſter? If Mr Wood hath no better a manner of repreſenting his patrons, when I come to be a *great*

man, he ſhall never be ſuffered to attend at my *levee*. This is not the ſtyle of a great miniſter; it ſavours too much of the *kettle* and the *furnace*, and came entirely out of Wood's *forge*.

As for the threat of making us *eat our brogues*, we need not be in pain; for if his coin ſhould paſs, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a *national reproach*; becauſe then we ſhould have neither *ſhoe* nor *brogue* left in the kingdom. But here the falſehood of Mr Wood is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr Walpole never heard of a *brogue* in his whole life.

As to *ſwallowing theſe half-pence in fire-balls*, it is a ſtory equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole ſtock of Mr Wood's coin and metal muſt be melted down, and moulded into hollow *balls* with *wild-fire*, no bigger than a reaſonable throat may be able to ſwallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at leaſt fifty millions of *half-pence* to be *ſwallowed* by a million and an half of people; ſo that, allowing two half-pence to each *ball*, there will be about ſeventeen balls of wild-fire a-piece to be ſwallowed by every perſon in the kingdom; and, to adminiſter this doſe, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thouſand *operators*, allowing one operator to every thirty; which conſidering the *ſqueamiſhneſs* of ſome ſtomachs, and the *peeviſhneſs* of *young children*, is but reaſonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of ſuch an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this

this report to be ſpurious, or, at leaſt, only a new ſcheme of Mr Wood himſelf; which, to make it paſs the better in Ireland, he would father upon a *miniſter of ſtate.*

But I will now demonſtrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr Walpole is againſt this project of Mr Wood, and is an entire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the univerſal opinion of being a wiſe man, an able miniſter, and in all his proceedings purſuing the *true intereſt* of the *King his maſter:* and that as his *integrity* is above all *corruption*, ſo is his *fortune* above all *temptation.* I reckon therefore, we are perfectly ſafe from that *corner*, and ſhall never be under the neceſſity of contending with ſo *formidable a power*, but be left to poſſeſs our *brogues* and *potatoes* in peace, as * *remote from thunder as we are from* Jupiter.

I am, my dear countrymen,
your loving fellow-ſubject,
fellow-ſufferer, and
humble ſervant,

Oct. 13. 1724. M. B.

* *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.*

Upon the arrival of Lord Carteret, ſoon after the publication of this letter, the paſſages from which this note is referred to were ſelected as ſufficient ground for proſecution, and a proclamation was publiſhed by his Excellency and Council, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for diſcovering the author. Harding the printer was impriſoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared againſt him; which gave occaſion to the following paper.

Seaſonable ADVICE to the GRAND JURY, concerning the Bill preparing againſt the PRINTER of the preceding LETTER.

SINCE a *bill* is preparing for the *grand jury* to find againſt the printer of the Drapier's *laſt letter*, there are ſeveral things maturely to be conſidered by thoſe gentlemen before they determine upon it.

Firſt, They are to conſider, that the author of the ſaid pamphlet did write three other diſcourſes on the ſame ſubject, which, inſtead of being cenſured, were univerſally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raiſed and continued that ſpirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out Wood's coin; for all men will grant, that if thoſe pamphlets had not been written, his coin muſt have over-run the nation ſome months ago.

Secondly, It is to be conſidered, that this pamphlet, againſt which a *proclamation* hath been iſſued, is written by the *ſame author:* That no body ever doubted the innocence and goodneſs of his deſign; that he appears through the whole tenor of it, to be a *loyal ſubject* to his Majeſty, and devoted to the Houſe of Hanover, and declares himſelf in a manner peculiarly zealous againſt the *Pretender*. And if ſuch a writer, in four ſeveral treatiſes on ſo nice a ſubject, where

a royal patent is concerned, and where it was neceſſary to ſpeak of England and of *liberty*, ſhould in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expreſſion, it would be hard to condemn him after all the good he hath done; eſpecially when we conſider, that he could have no poſſible deſign in view, either of honour or profit, but purely the good of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, It ought to be well conſidered, whether any one expreſſion in the ſaid pamphlet be really liable to a juſt exception, much leſs to be found *wicked*, *malicious*, *ſeditious*, *reflecting upon his Majeſty and his miniſtry*, &c.

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is ſaid the proſecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, firſt, where the author mentions the penner of the King's anſwer. *Firſt*, it is well known his Majeſty is not maſter of the Engliſh tongue; and therefore it is neceſſary that ſome other perſon ſhould be employed to pen what he hath to ſay, or write in that language. *Secondly*, his Majeſty's anſwer is not in the firſt perſon, but in the third. It is not ſaid, WE ARE CONCERNED, OR OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and *his* ROYAL PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, theſe are properly not the words of his Majeſty; but ſuppoſed to be taken from him, and tranſmitted hither by one of his miniſters. *Thirdly*, it will be eaſily ſeen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his ſentiments upon this particular with the utmoſt cau-

tion and reſpect, as any impartial reader will obſerve.

The ſecond paragraph, which it is ſaid will be taken notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the author ſays of Ireland's being a dependent kingdom: He explains all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made in Ireland, whereby it is enacted, that *whoever is king of* England *ſhall be king of* Ireland. Before this explanation be condemned, and the bill found upon it, it would be proper that ſome lawyers ſhould fully inform the jury what other law there is, either ſtatute or common, for this *dependency;* and if there be no law, there is no tranſgreſſion.

The *fourth* thing very maturely to be conſidered by the jury, is, what influence their finding the bill may have upon the kingdom: The people in general find no fault in the Drapier's laſt book, any more than in the three former; and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a grand jury of Dublin, they will conclude it is done in favour of Wood's coin: They will think we of this town have changed our minds, and intend to take thoſe half-pence; and therefore that it will be in vain for them to ſtand out: So that the queſtion comes to this, which will be of the worſt conſequence? to let paſs one or two expreſſions, at the worſt only unwary, in a book written for the public ſervice; or to leave a free open paſſage for Wood's braſs to over-run us, by which we ſhall be undone for ever.

The *fifth* thing to be conſidered is, that the members

members of the grand jury, being merchants and principal ſhop-keepers, can have no ſuitable temptation offered them, as a recompence for the miſchief they will do, and ſuffer by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loſs or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the ſtate, to make up their own private advantages by the deſtruction of their country; whereas thoſe, who go about to *adviſe*, *entice*, or *threaten* them to find that bill, have great employments, which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewiſe the caſe of all thoſe who ſigned the proclamation to have the author proſecuted. And therefore it is known, that his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin, ſo renowned for his piety, and wiſdom, and love of his country, abſolutely refuſed to condemn the book or the author.

Laſtly, It ought to be conſidered, what conſequence the finding the bill may have upon a poor man, perfectly innocent; I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expreſſions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to find any. But how can it be ſuppoſed that an ignorant printer can be ſuch a *critic?* He knew the author's deſign was honeſt, and approved by the whole kingdom: He adviſed with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could ſee none himſelf: It was ſent him in an unknown hand; but the ſame in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take their oaths, that

that they knew not the author. And therefore to find a bill, that may bring puniſhment upon the innocent, will appear *very hard*, to ſay no worſe. For it will be impoſſible to find the author, unleſs he will pleaſe to diſcover himſelf; although I wonder he ever concealed his name: But I ſuppoſe, what he did at firſt out of modeſty, he continues to do out of prudence. GOD protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable aſcribed to Demoſthenes. He had ſerved the people of Athens with great fidelity in the ſtation of an *orator*; when upon a certain occaſion apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the Athenians, his countrymen, the following ſtory: Once upon a time the *wolves* deſired a league with the *ſheep*, upon this condition, that the cauſe of ſtrife might be taken away, which was the *ſhepherds* and *maſtiffs*: This being granted, the *wolves*, without all fear, made havock of the *ſheep*.

November 11. 1724.

An

Copies of this paper were diſtributed to every perſon of the grand-jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited; who, probably for the reaſons contained in it, refuſed to find the bill; upon which the Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, who had preſided at a former proſecution of the Drapier's printer *, *diſcharged them in a rage. The following extract was ſoon after publiſhed, to ſhew the illegality of this proceeding; and the next grand jury that was empannelled, made the ſubſequent preſentment againſt all the abettors of Wood's project*, &c. See letter to Lord Moleſworth, vol. IV.

* See the firſt note prefixed to the propoſal for the ſole uſe of Iriſh manufactures, in this volume.

An extract from a book, intitled, *An exact collection of the debates of the Houſe of Commons, held at Weſtminſter, Oct.* 21. 1680, *p.* 150.

RESOLUTIONS *of the Houſe of Commons in England, Nov.* 13. 1680.

SEVERAL perſons being examined about the diſmiſſing a grand jury in Middleſex, the Houſe came to the following *reſolutions:*

Reſolved, That the diſcharging of a grand jury by any judge, before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while maters are under their conſideration, and not preſented, is arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and is a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

Reſolved, that a committee be appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges in Weſtminſter-hall; and report the ſame, with their opinion herein, to this Houſe.

Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, for his conduct, deſerved to have been impeached by the Houſe of Commons; becauſe the diſſolving of a grand jury by any judge before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while matters are under their conſideration, and not preſented, is arbitral, illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and is a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the realm. But as the Houſe of Commons forbore to execute their vengeance upon the Chief Juſtice, Swift

ſeized

ſeized upon him as a prey, laſhed him, and worried him out of all his patience, by many ſarcaſtic epigrams, ſquibs, and other ſevere reflections upon his unworthy demeanor, until at laſt he became odious and ridiculous to the whole kingdom. Neither could his death, which happened ſoon after, appeaſe the vengeance of the incenſed patriot. For Swift, reſolving to make him an example to all future ages, purſued him into the regions of the dead, and coupled him with Antyus the accuſer of Socrates. Such indeed was at laſt the ſacrifice that poor unfortunate Whitſhed became to the reſentment of Dr Swift. —See Swift's poems concerning Whitſhed, vol. VIII. alſo, *A ſhort view of Ireland;* and, *An anſwer to a memorial,* in vol. IV. See alſo, *The life and character of Dr Swift,* vol. IX. D. Swift.

The PRESENTMENT of the GRAND JURY of the county of the city of Dublin.

WHEREAS ſeveral great quantities of baſe metal coined, commonly called Wood's half-pence, have been brought into the port of Dublin, and lodged in ſeveral houſes of this city, with an intention to make them paſs clandeſtinely among his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; notwithſtanding the addreſſes of both Houſes of parliament, and the privy-council, and the declarations of moſt of the corporations of this city againſt the ſaid coin: And whereas his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to leave his loyal ſubjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuſe the ſaid half-pence:

We

We the *Grand jury* of the county of the city of Dublin, this Michaelmas *term* 1724, having entirely at heart his Majeſty's intereſt, and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly ſenſible of the great diſcouragements which trade hath ſuffered by the apprehenſions of the ſaid coin, whereof we have already felt the diſmal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his Majeſty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our poſterity, do *preſent* all ſuch perſons as have attempted, or ſhall endeavour by fraud, or otherwiſe, to impoſe the ſaid half-pence upon us, contrary to his Majeſty's moſt gracious intentions, as enemies to his Majeſty's government, and to the ſafety, peace, and welfare of all his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; whoſe affections have been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by their zeal to his illuſtrious family before his happy acceſſion to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever ſince.

As we do, with all juſt gratitude, acknowledge the ſervice of all ſuch *patriots*, as have been eminently *zealous* for the intereſt of his Majeſty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent impoſition of the ſaid Wood, and preventing the paſſing of his baſe coin; ſo we do, at the ſame time, declare our abhorrence and deteſtation of all reflections on his Majeſty and his government; and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his Moſt Sacred Majeſty againſt the *Pretender*,

tender, and all his Majeſty's open and ſecret enemies, both at home and abroad.

Given under our hands at the Grand-jury chamber, this 28th of November 1724.

George Forbes,
William Empſon,
Nathaniel Pearſon,
Joſeph Nuttall,
William Aſton,
Stearn Tighe,
Richard Walker,
Edmond French,
John Vercilles,
Philip Pearſon,
Thomas Robins,
Richard Dawſon,
David Tew,
Thomas How,
John Jones,
James Brown,
Charles Lyndon,
Jerom Bredin,
John Sican,
Anthony Brunton,
Thomas Gaven,
Daniel Elwood,
John Brunet.

The preceding paper was publiſhed about a month after the proclamation was iſſued, offering a reward of 300 *l. for the diſcovering the author of the Drapier's fourth letter.*

END OF VOL. III.

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